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# The Story of a Clanwilliam Farm: the history and archaeology of Warmhoek



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**THE STORY of a CLANWILLIAM FARM,  
the HISTORY and ARCHAEOLOGY of WARMHOEK**

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## CHAPTER 1 – THE SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

Platberg B 519, known as Warmhoek farm (WHK), is located on the north bank of the Jan Dissels River, 5 kilometres in a direct line, east of Clanwilliam. It was excavated over six seasons from 2001 to 2006 by the University of Cape Town Archaeology Department as part of the Field School programme. Prior to the commencement of excavation, the record of transfers of the property showed that it dated to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The purpose of this dissertation is twofold. The first is to develop an understanding of the local historical context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and to situate the material record within it. The second is to collate and describe the archaeological materials and records for the site.

The challenge throughout this research has been in the first aim; that is, to expose the details of the historical context for the house and the property. Once achieved, this historical background provides a framework within which to place and provide some interpretation of the material remains. This obviously draws attention to method in historical archaeology and the manner in which material and texts are linked. As Hall and Markell state “Material culture understood in conjunction with documentary evidence has a different quality than artefactual assemblages standing alone” (Hall & Markell 1993:4). There are several ways in which this conjunction between texts and material can be explored. For example, Barbara Little (Little 1994) has summarized five approaches useful to historical archaeologists, all of which use material culture as the primary database. These are the identification of contradictions and anomalies between the archaeological and the documented databases; identification of data found in one source which is lacking in the other; the generation of hypotheses based on one data set which can be tested against the other; the refutation of data from one source by data from the other; and, the use of both data sets – most often the documentary

set – as sources of a context that provides a basis for interpretation (Little 1994:14), context being “the central and defining feature of our discipline” (Johnson 1999:107). For the most part, it is this last approach that guides this research. Throughout this research, the history of the farm and the house has proved to be an elusive but progressively engaging project. The context provided by the documents shifts from a description of the legal history of the property towards the politics of land and race. It is with this clearer picture of the historical background that the material culture can be viewed.

The search for the details of historical context on the one hand and the description, analysis and interpretation of the material record on the other, has increasingly brought matters of theory to the fore. In particular, the issue of scale is of relevance for the research into the nature of the Warmhoek house. In raising this issue the question is: while the house represents a specific series of events, as the documents show, to what extent does it represent wider cultural structures in which the form of the house relates to norms and values. Thus issues of specific agency, as outlined by documentary evidence, and mental or cultural structure, as interpreted from the material record, are the wider themes that underpin this research. I briefly address theoretical issues towards the end of this introduction.

Against this background, I briefly review the development of Historical Archaeology in the Western Cape. The colonisation of southern Africa was a consequence of the European mercantile exploitation of the East which began in the late fifteenth century. In South Africa one aspect of Historical Archaeology focuses on the material culture and documented history of colonizers and colonized peoples on sites dating from the mid–

seventeenth century. The first European colonizers at the Cape were the Dutch and they were followed by the British approximately one hundred and fifty years later.

In 1652 the Dutch East India Company (VOC) established a refreshment station to serve the needs of cargo vessels travelling between Europe and the Far East. The station consisted of vegetable and fruit gardens, the Castle, and the beginnings of a small town in Table Bay. Slaves were imported from Indonesia to meet labour needs. Trading with indigenous Khoe pastoralists for cattle to provide much needed protein for maritime employees was a crucial function of the station and outposts were established on the coastal plains, west of Table Bay.

Although VOC activities were minutely ordered and controlled, within five years the Company found itself obliged to give up some of this authority for reasons of productivity, demand and supply. The Khoe pastoralists grazed their sheep and cattle according to seasonal availability of suitable pastures; moreover they were reluctant to trade away their stock [Boonzaier et al 1996:66]. Their nomadic behaviour and their reluctance to trade forced the expansion of the frontiers of the refreshment station and weakened VOC control. These difficulties and the restriction of the number of Company employees to one hundred, forced Commander Jan Van Riebeeck to opt for a system of “free enterprise farming” and the “granting of land to free burgher farmers” who could farm or ply a trade on their own account (Brink 2008:27–28). Thus, from its inception, Cape society was complex and deeply polarized by the parallel existence of elite and underclass societies. While Free Burghers may have started as one component of this underclass, they became elite and this created tensions relating to control between them and the authority of the VOC [Brink 2008:32–40].

The VOC was a private company in business for financial gain but the British who followed were true colonizers. By 1814, the year in which the town of Clanwilliam was founded, the Cape had been declared a Crown Colony and the process of imposing British legal and administrative systems had begun. Six years later parties of British Settlers arrived in the Eastern Cape and Irish parties were settled in Clanwilliam. Within decades the Cape was “identifiably British” (Klose & Malan 2000:50).

In the above context a number of archaeological themes have received attention and an array of issues has been debated. All of these have, either explicitly or implicitly, grappled with issues of theory and the scale of analysis and interpretation. This is evident, for example, in Martin Hall’s overview (1993) of colonial settlement in southern Africa. Buildings such as the Castle, VOC cattle trading outposts, elaborate gabled dwellings of the wealthy, and simple, unsophisticated dwellings of ordinary people in town and country areas, have been discussed both in terms of specific form and function and also as material culture that underpinned social structure and status which were active in defining the mindset of builders and occupiers. Probate records of the contents of homes made on the death of their owners, faunal food remains and ceramic vessels of high and low quality used at all levels of society have also been discussed in this way. Hall (1993) also drew attention to the impact of expanding frontiers on indigenous populations and the often difficult to identify archaeological presence of the underclasses.

Some examples of this research are: excavations of the Castle’s moat (Hall, Halkett, et al.,1990), the woodcutter outpost ‘Paradise’ in Newlands forest (Hall, M., Malan A., Amann, et al.1993), the slave lodge at Vergelegen wine farm near Somerset West (Markell 2000) and the defensive works and garrison lodge at Oudepost on the West



Coast (Schrire, Cruz-Urbe, & Klose:2000). These have shown how distinctions between the indigenous people, the under classes in VOC society at the Cape (slaves, woodcutters, farm workers and soldiers) and the elite VOC officials can be inferred from architecture, food remains (cuts of meat), ceramics, and isotopic traces in teeth and bone collagen (Sealy, J.C., Morris, A.G., et al.:1993). Furthermore, the analysis and comparison of probate records of the owners of Cape Town property, the reconstruction of the floor plans of their houses and the activities within these houses showed how their architecture accommodated their life styles (Malan 1998).

British era colonial archaeology studies are of greater relevance to the Warmhoek site than are those of the VOC era. Unfortunately, there are few studies to draw on and in particular, little work has been done on the late nineteenth and early twentieth century sites. Therefore, my review of British era Historical Archaeology studies of this period is brief. Jane Klose and Antonia Malan of the Historical Archaeology Research Group based at the University of Cape Town, refer to excavated sites in old Cape Town dating from the last years of the eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century (Klose & Malan 2000:50). Communal dumps in central Cape Town yielded quantities of ceramics and faunal remains discarded by servants, slaves, merchants and tavern-keepers. These studies suffer because often the specific and different use contexts that generated the material remains cannot be disentangled, and only one of them, the early Barrack Street well, has a well-provenanced sequence.

James Walton, whose work is referred to by Yvonne Brink [Brink 2008], believed that “the earliest Cape house form was a single-room dwelling with a hearth at one end. It was divided into two by a curtain and became a two-roomed structure when the curtain was replaced with a wall. Further steps included separation of the kitchen from the

living area and finally the building on of another room with a separate outside door". This describes the "simple transverse rectangular longhouse" which Walton believed dated from the early eighteenth century and was enlarged by the addition of wings [Brink 2008:49,55,57]. For the purposes of this study, I regard the above as the definition of a longhouse. Brink points out that while some owners enlarged early houses by the addition of wings and the embellished them with gables other "people with large farms continued to build rectangular longhouses, for example, in the Western Cape coastal areas, until well into the twentieth century" [Brink 2008:50] and this study will later suggest why this might be so at Warmhoek. Further afield, the idea of material culture, particularly the organization of floor plans in houses and the form of ceramics, as an expression of mind-set, has been a theme in the research of the mid-nineteenth century English settler village of Salem in the Eastern Cape (Winer & Deetz: 1990).

Consequently, the scale of archaeological studies undertaken in the Western Cape so far has varied considerably. Few sites can be securely linked to social groups and the specific contexts that generated the artefacts. As noted, urban dumps were filled with debris from a large number of homes and commercial enterprises. The Western Cape and Eastern Cape studies referred to above are of a number of buildings in each case and are on a different scale to that of Warmhoek which is confined to the study of a single farm.

Warmhoek was transferred five times between the years 1896 to 1933 and the documentary evidence provides a relatively detailed picture of the history of this single property, and of the agency and motivation of several local players. In contrast to this scale, a question to be examined is whether the house might be an expression of late

nineteenth / early twentieth century vernacular farmer architecture which reflects a particular mindset or world view. This raises issues of theory.

The idea that material culture is patterned by, relates to, and reflects a world view is one of the recent themes of historical archaeology – the archaeology of the text, in Martin Hall's terms (Hall 1993). It persisted into the 1990's in Winer and Deetz's study of British culture in the Eastern Cape when they articulated the idea of a world view as "a mental construct, a set of shared concepts and plans used by a society to organize its world" (Winer & Deetz 1990:56). This idea was frequently applied to archaeology in a structuralist way which "holds that the form of any cultural expression results from the mediation of a series of binary oppositions that structure thought. The oppositions are said to be universal, and cultures are said to differ from one another in the manner in which the mediations are effected in each instance. Mediations of oppositions, such as those between emotion and intellect, public and private, corporate and individual, open and closed, symmetry and asymmetry, male and female, or inside and outside, can shift over time from one extreme to the other, and in turn, dictate the form of all that a culture produces, be it food, housing, music, art, refuse disposal, burial practices or any other objectification of culture" (Winer & Deetz 1990:56).

This stance is one of a number of 'postprocessual' responses to earlier theoretical 'processual' frameworks in archaeology that emphasized objective scientific measurement, the formulation of hypotheses to be tested and the creation of models, and viewed material culture (artefacts) as the product of socio-economic processes. The post-processual reaction moved towards "interpretive archaeologies" (Johnson 1999:101) and suggested that data is always theory-laden no matter how scientific the method of its collection. Whether archaeologists admit this or not, their reasoning

inevitably tries to assign meaning to artefacts, and assume that these meanings were in the minds of the people who made and used them (Johnson 1999:102–103). Therefore, as Ian Hodder found: “to understand patterning on the ground it was necessary to refer to people’s attitudes and beliefs” and to acknowledge the importance of their thoughts and symbolism (in Johnson 1999:99–100).

Martin Hall, however, while acknowledging the valuable insights gained via the structuralist approach, has criticized its emphasis on “form at the expense of history” (Hall 1993:192) and its failure to explain why or how material changes occur over time given that the world view of a society is seen as a “subconscious” mental construct (Hall 1992:376).

As an antidote to structuralism, Hall describes the discursive method of Michael Foucault which dismisses ‘laws of the mind’ in favour of ‘discourse’ in which written or spoken texts and material artefacts are regarded as ‘statements’. A sequence of statements which have certain contexts can be contrasted (as if they are in conflict), can inform each other (dialectical exchange) or can be compared. The symbolic insights of structuralism are not discarded but are incorporated into the discursive analysis. Hall illustrates that comparisons are facilitated by using the discursive method: for example, the way the concept of ‘order’ is expressed in symmetrical Cape Dutch gabled houses and in the organic Cape ‘langhuis’ (Hall 1992:377). It is these general theoretical ideas that have guided me in the discussion of the Warmhoek material culture.

In this study I will focus on the Warmhoek house, and a smaller dwelling and the agrarian structures on the property as well as the ceramic assemblage and I will situate

and discuss the whole within the socio-economic context of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Clanwilliam. Consequently, in Chapter 2, I introduce owners and occupiers of Warmhoek farm and discuss issues of land ownership against the background of Clanwilliam society as a preliminary approach to addressing, in Chapter 3, the questions of who might have built the structures on Warmhoek farm and when and why they were built. In Chapter 4 I turn to the material record and describe the location and layout of the farm, the excavation of its features and middens and suggest some ideas about time and in space that draw on the historical background previously outlined. In Chapter 5, I analyse the ceramics excavated from Warmhoek primarily to further develop the chronology for the occupation of the site and also to generate some ideas about the lifeways and foodways of the occupants of the farm. In Chapter 6, I compare, discuss and interpret the documentary data and archaeological evidence of the foregoing Chapters and present my findings as to the identities of the builders and occupiers of Warmhoek farm. In Chapter 7, I summarize the questions raised during the course of excavations and research and I recap my findings. Finally, I review the position of this study in relation to recent work on late nineteenth- to early twentieth-century sites and suggest possibilities for further research to enhance our understanding of Western Cape archaeology of the period.

## CHAPTER 2 – WARMHOEK FARM AND CLANWILLIAM SOCIETY

In this chapter I outline a social history of the nineteenth century village of Clanwilliam through the individuals and families specifically associated with Warmhoek farm whose biographies have been constructed by means of published histories of the town and its people, genealogical records and oral testimonies. A common thread throughout this chapter is the issue of land and the politics of its possession.

The town had its modest beginnings during VOC rule at the Cape, when the route through the greater Olifantsrivier valley was opened to colonial expansion by VOC expeditions in search of the fabled copper riches of Namaqualand. When the smallpox epidemics of 1713 and 1755 decimated the indigenous peoples it became easier for white cattle farmers to advance ('trek') into the area with their cattle, and in due course loan farms were granted to them. By 1726, the botanist Jan Dissel had built his house<sup>1</sup> "in the Boskloof", a fertile valley through which a tributary of the Olifants River flowed. This perennial river was named after him (Langham-Carter 1993:42). By the end of the eighteenth century the area was relatively well occupied by white settlers and had been brought under the control of the Stellenbosch magisterial district. In 1804 Clanwilliam was placed under the new district of Tulbagh and four years later, when the Cape had become a British colony, a sub-district, Jan Disselsvlei, was established on the farm, Jan Disselsfontein, and an Assistant Magistrate was appointed to collect tax and exercise minor local powers. In 1814 the town of Clanwilliam was founded; it was named by the Governor, Sir John Cradock, after his father-in-law the Earl of Clanwilliam.

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<sup>1</sup> The house was located 16 km from the turn-off after the bridge and cemetery near Augsburg (Langham-Carter 1993:42)

The settlement of Irish immigrants in Clanwilliam in 1820, which was intended to boost the population and economic activity, was a failure. Most of the settlers could not cope with the foreign and unexpected conditions which they encountered and many were soon relocated to the Southern and Eastern Cape. In 1821, the Irish settler, Captain Walter Synnot became Assistant Magistrate. On 2 June 1821 he painted a watercolour of the original farm Jan Disselsfontein<sup>2</sup>. Synnot and other families returned to Britain in 1825 leaving only a handful of Irish Settler families to put down roots, among whom the Fosters, who “made the most impact on Clanwilliam and lasted the longest” (Langham–Carter 1993:27).

The early years of the new town were very difficult. Road access across mountains and sandveld was arduous and the place was under-populated. In 1838, the British geographer, James E. Alexander, recorded that the sub-district of Clanwilliam was “from north to south about 300 miles in extent, and from east to west 250” (Alexander 1838:36). The total population was 8460 people of which 2304 were Whites, 5011 were Hottentots and 1145 were Apprentices (i.e. freed slaves) and he notes that there were 370 occupied “places or farms” (Alexander 1838:38). The Dutch farmers bred fat-tailed sheep preferring them to Merinos as they were not interested in wool production (Alexander 1838:37). Alexander easily obtained meat, milk and bread from farmers en route and records that vines and vegetables were cultivated in Clanwilliam (Alexander 1838:38).

The Foster family is one of the key families linked to Warmhoek farm. John Foster, a chemist according to the Settlers’ Roll, arrived in Clanwilliam as a salaried labourer of

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<sup>2</sup>The painting is in the William Fehr Collection at Rust en Vreugd in Buitenkant Street, Cape Town.

Ingram's party (Langham-Carter 1993:37). In March 1822, when he was said to be so poor that "his children were reported to be without bread or meat" (Langham-Carter 1989:8), he was appointed to the position of sexton at the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), presumably a paid office, which then carried significant responsibility (Feeskomitee (a):9). By 1825 he was able to purchase a farm, The Valley / De Vlei, from Captain Walter Synnot when the latter decided to return to Britain. It lay in the triangle between the confluence of the Olifants and Jan Dissels rivers (Fig. 2.1) and had a farmhouse and a watermill below the furrow to which the townspeople brought their grain to be milled (Dickason 1973:83).



Fig. 2.1. Map showing the location of Clanwilliam in the Western Cape, South Africa, and Warmhoek and neighbouring farms.



When in 1825 the municipality expropriated some of this land to make it available for residential purposes, John Foster was “granted a site in the village on the east side of Main Street” (Langham–Carter 1993:27). In 1827, he applied to “erect a building with stabling and ... a comfortable inn for the accommodation and entertainment of travellers” and for a liquor licence, stating that there was a great need for these in the village which was frequently visited by farmers (KAB CO Vol.3935: 1827). Permission was granted. Foster also opened a shop on the west side of the Main Street which remained in the family for a hundred years (Langham–Carter 1993:27).

John Foster appears to have been a ‘colourful’, non-conformist personality. Many complaints in the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) council minutes suggest that he was not converted to the protocols of Dutch society with its emphasis on rank and precedence which had been written down in VOC times (Brink 2008:105). For example, in his capacity as sexton, he stood at the vestry door during church council meetings in case he was needed to fulfil some task. The council often found that as soon as the meeting ended, the whole village knew what had taken place. Also minuted are complaints that on one occasion he had loaned church benches to some slaves who were having a dance party and that on a Sunday when there were many bridal couples to accommodate and there was not enough seating, he allowed couples to sit in places reserved for the council wives (Feeskomitee (a):10). These anecdotes suggest that he had a less than reverent attitude to matters that the church took very seriously. It is likely that his children were aware of, and influenced by, such a cavalier treatment of the priorities of the Dutch members of the Clanwilliam community and this may have found expression in some of the later actions of his son, Sala Benjamin John Foster, with regard to Lot 1320.

S.B.J. Foster (Fig.2.2) was known as Ben Foster. He was one of 14 children born to his father. He was born to his father's second wife, Mary Clarke after ten years of their marriage (pers.comm. per e-mail. Clare Lee. August 2006). Ben was nine years old when his father died and thirty-one when his mother died. We know little of his early adulthood. No doubt he was active in the family shop from an early age. He was a warden in the church of St John the Evangelist at the age of twenty-five and a Master of the cattle pound in 1867. According to his grand-daughters, Eileen Esterhuizen and Jeanne Heywood, he farmed at his father's



Fig. 2.1. Ben Foster

farm, 'De Vlei', all his life; indeed the farm, referred to as 'The Valley', is mentioned in his wife's will (MOOC 6/99/2943 10894). No will, only a death certificate is filed under Ben Foster's name (MOOC 6/9/676 2787) and this states that movable and immovable property existed.

Ben Foster was clearly a person of action and quick to seize entrepreneurial opportunities. He departed to trade on the Diamond Fields in 1868, aged twenty-six,

following the discovery of diamonds in Hopetown, having married Eliza Henrietta 'Hetta' Shawe, aged nineteen, in May 1868 (Fig. 2.3).



Fig. 2.3. Eliza Foster, née Shawe.

According to his grand-daughter, Eileen Esterhuizen (pers. telephonic comm. 1 March 2009), Ben Foster acquired a good diamond and sold it well and this provided the capital with which to establish himself. In 1869, the small family house that old John Foster had built on Main Street was demolished to make way for the large home, 'Orange Grove', which Ben and Hetta occupied for the rest of their lives, together with their ten children. Numerous Foster and Shawe siblings, and brothers- and sisters-in-law, were accommodated from time to time in several cottages on the grounds. After his Diamond Fields trip, from 1870 onwards he farmed, and he and his wife, trading as Shawe, Foster and Co., (KAB CSC Vol. 2/1/1/146) kept the family store, held the postal contract and continued to hold the liquor licence at their premises (KAB CSC Vol.2/6/1/198).

Ben Foster probably acquired the Crown Lease on Lot 1320 in 1873 to increase the family's capacity for wheat and meat production. His experience on the Diamond Fields had no doubt alerted the trader in him to this potential market, especially as road building in the district improved access to these as well as to Cape Town markets (Nell 1997:28). Foster's land dealing fortunes in acquiring the lease on Lot 1320 were later to tie in to the property interests of his neighbour on Augsburg farm (Fig. 2.1), Dirk van Zyl.

Dirk van Zyl was nine years younger than Ben Foster and was twenty years old when he married sixteen year old Maatje Aletta Boonzaaier in 1870. The young couple may have immediately settled on his farm on the outskirts of Clanwilliam which his father, P.H.S. van Zyl of Park Street, had bought in 1867 as a gift for him. The property had previously been a Rhenish Mission Station to serve the coloured community and had been founded in 1846 by the 'St. Stephans-Sendinggenootskap' on the farm, Oude Muur, part of Patrys Vlei (Feekomitee (b):28). The Missionary N.H. Smit renamed the farm "Augsburg". Dwellings and other accommodation and school buildings were already present when Dirk van Zyl took occupation and a rudimentary farm with a mill had been established. Kotze records that the old farmhouse in which the van Zyl family lived was built of raw bricks ("roustene") with clay plaster and a thatch roof, and that the ceiling, lintels, doors, window frames and sills were of cedar wood and the roof timbers were poplar (Kotzé 1981:87).

In 1875, when Dirk van Zyl was in his mid-twenties and had four children, he bought another portion of Augsburg to enlarge his farm, and in time, Augsburg came to be regarded as a model farm. Van Zyl farmed wheat, cattle, sheep and goats and bred horses (pers. comm. Salome Burden. Interview, 23 January 2007). He held offices in the

DRC Church on various occasions and it was said that the Sunday Church service did not commence until he had arrived with his cart and horses (J.A. Mostert in Kotzé 1981:87). In 1893 he established a hotel and a shop on Augsburg as well as a private “Hollandsch” medium school (Kotzé 1981:99) for which, in 1895 he completed a new building (Feekomitee (a) 1964:28). He became a prominent member of Clanwilliam society and was generally known as “Oom Dirk” (Fig. 2.4).



Fig. 2.4. Dirk van Zyl and family, c. 1902

His status continued to grow and from 1888 to 1907 he served as the Clanwilliam Representative in the Cape Parliament (W.P.L. van Zyl in Kotzé 1981:99). In 1898, at the time of re-election campaigning he was promoted as the Afrikaner Bond candidate for this position (Argus Weekly of 20.7.1898). The Afrikaner Bond was formed in 1879 as an overt political manifestation of ethnic solidarity. The Bond was in part a response to the English-dominated wealth of the diamond fields and the attempts to unite South

Africa under the British flag. Members of the Bond, increasingly fearful that Afrikaners were fast losing real power in their own country, were “avowedly nationalistic, boosted Afrikaans and proclaimed ‘Africa for the Afrikaners’ ” (Rotberg 1988: 132–133).

The names of Gert Nieuwoudt and Jan H. Nieuwoudt are also significant in connection with Warmhoek as they were co-signatories, in 1894, in an application to purchase Lot 1320 Platberg in partnership with Dirk van Zyl. As their family name suggests that there was a relationship to the Nieuwoudts of Boskloof (Fig. 2.1), a farm sharing a boundary with Lot 1320, some biographical information about them is needed because oral testimony has established that this family, in the third decade of the twentieth century, again became indirectly connected to Warmhoek.

The Boskloof Nieuwoudts are descended from Heremias Cornelis Nieuwoud (1794–1853) who, together with Gerrit Nieuwoud, was granted Jan Dissels Rivier No. 270 in 1840. (The family name originally ended in ‘d’ only). The property measured almost 7,000 morgen. The transfers, however, were only registered in 1883, thirty years after the death of one of the original owners. The record of transfers suggests that Gerrit Nieuwoud either did not have descendants, or had disposed of his share to Heremias Cornelis, because only the three surviving sons of Heremias Cornelis Nieuwoud inherited the property in one-sixth shares. Each heir received two shares, i.e. a one-sixth share from each of the two original owners.

Clanwilliam society and land ownership were clearly closely intertwined. In the mid-nineteenth century a Gerrit Nieuwoudt occupied the farm ‘De Melkboom aan de Kompagniesdrift’, later called Trawal, where Irish Settler families had been settled earlier (Green 1967:112). If this was the Nieuwoud mentioned above in connection

with Boskloof, this might indicate that he had indeed sold his share of Jan Dissels Rivier 270 to Heremias Cornelis Nieuwoudt. Green also records that in 1837 three Nieuwoudts were granted perpetual quitrent over Heerenlogement farm (later Graafwater) measuring 20,000 morgen and that in 1839 one of them, a Heremias Nieuwoudt bought out his partners for £33 (Green 1967:136). In the mid-nineteenth century members of the Nieuwoudt family were clearly acquiring vast tracts of land in the Clanwilliam district.

The Gert Nieuwoudt who co-signed the application to purchase Lot 1320 in 1894, may be the same person who leased Lot No. 1321, 'Wolweberg' in 1891 and then bought it for £50 on 26 August 1893. This property lay between Jan Dissels Vley or Groot Kloof, and Rondegat, i.e. it lay partly in the same valley as the Boskloof farms belonging to the Nieuwoudt family. Having recently acquired one farm in the valley, he may have had an interest in another substantial one (Lot 1320) close by<sup>3</sup>. I have not found a genealogical record of a Gert Nieuwoudt resident on Boskloof in the 1890s.

There was, however, a Jan Harmse Nieuwoudt (1862–1927) who was born at Boskloof, and was a grandson of the above-mentioned Heremias Cornelis Nieuwoudt and inherited a one-sixth of the whole of Jan Dissels Rivier 270 from his father. If he was the Jan H. Nieuwoudt who added his name to the application to purchase Lot 1320, he was 12 years younger than Dirk van Zyl. Jan Harmse was married twice; his wives were both born Nieuwoudt and they had similar first names. They were descendants of Jan Harmse's uncle, Heremias Cornelis Nieuwoudt (1828–1866). Jan Harmse appears to have lived on Boskloof all his life and is buried on the farm together with his second

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<sup>3</sup> The consecutive lot numbers do not indicate that the properties are adjacent; they have clerical reference only.

wife. Apart from the fact that he was a member of the DRC Council in 1926, its centenary year (Feeskomitee (b):28), nothing is known of his activities.

The three parcels of land, Augsburg, Lot 1320 and Jan Dissels Rivier, formed a nexus of intertwined and (as we shall see) competing farming relationships. The fortunes of these families played out in the ongoing vicissitudes of farming in Clanwilliam in relation to the economy, drought and the critical issue of labour. The farms had relatively easy access via the Boskloof road to the village of Clanwilliam, which served their social and economic needs; in fact, it was also possible to walk to the village from these farms, and no doubt labourers such as shepherds usually did so. In the 1870s, there were fewer than eight hundred 'residents' in Clanwilliam (Langham-Carter 1993:14). There were two churches: the newly re-built Dutch Reformed church of which Dirk van Zyl and the Nieuwoudts were members, and the recently erected Anglican church, St. John the Evangelist, of which the Fosters were members. Schools hardly existed; the churches valiantly attempted to establish schools, but they were poorly attended. There were only two streets in Clanwilliam, Park and Main. The Cape road met them at their junction. Goods were transported by ox wagon driven by transport riders and people travelled locally by horse and cart. The first houses all had thatched roofs. They faced away from the street towards the Jan Dissels River and a water furrow ran between the front stoep and the gardens and orchards (Fransen 2006:195). For many years there was a public path the length of the water furrow and all the inhabitants of the town knew each other as a result (Langham-Carter 1993:42-43).

In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the daily needs of Clanwilliam households were met by butchers' agents and by travelling peddlars ('smouse')



(Friends of Beth Hatefutsoth. 2004). Shops were run from people's homes. In the 1840s the economy of the district was predominantly agricultural (Nell 1997:25). Clanwilliam farmland which had access to the perennial waters of the Jan Dissels and Olifants Rivers, as was the case with the three farms in question, was no doubt always attractive to farmers. Agricultural products of the area were tobacco, cereal crops (wheat, barley, rye and lucerne), livestock (sheep, cattle, horses), vines, vegetables and pine wood in plantations. However, agricultural production was never reliable. Clanwilliam experienced droughts and crop failures between 1840 and 1860 and severe economic depression between 1858 and 1861 (Nell 1997:24). In 1862 when the drought broke momentarily and abundant crops were harvested there were few purchasers for cattle "even in excellent condition" due to a lack of available capital (Nell 1997:24, 27). The small, poorer farmers were most severely affected by these extremes of climatic and economic conditions. Many lost their land and were driven to wage-dependency and even to working for food only. Prior to 1854, they had also been hampered by the fact that they could not afford to buy public land on auction at the upset price of 2 shillings an acre (Nell 1997:26–27). Although the 1862 Civil Commissioner's retrospective report portrayed a struggling district economy and a diminishing local population in a town that had no through traffic, larger farmers were, nevertheless, able to expand their landholdings in the 1860s (Nell 1997:27–28). In the 1870s, road development in the district and access to the expanding markets of Cape Town and to the north resulted in the commercialization of agriculture, specialization of farming and more intensive production, which drove up land values (Nell 1997:28).

It is against this background that the critical issue of labour on these farms needs to be addressed. The Foster family, in addition to De Vlei, also owned Klein Vallei which was farmed by Ben's elder half-brothers James and John. In common with other farmers,

their need for labour must have been significant and would have been drawn from the local population. It is likely that some of the Khoesan and freed slaves referred to by Alexander in 1838 were living at the Augsburg mission station in the late 1840s and were employed on Clanwilliam farms. Robert Ross has noted that mission stations “became reservoirs of labour, as men were either engaged on a semi-permanent basis while maintaining a residence in the mission institution or were hired for a short period, notably during harvest” (Ross 1986: 85). After the sale of Augsburg to the Van Zyl family in 1867 the Rev. Smit had moved into town and in time a new St. Stephan’s church and mission school were founded to serve the coloured community (Feekomitee (a) 1926: 26) which probably continued to be a source of labour.

Availability of labour would have been critical for the entrepreneurially-minded Ben Foster. As noted above, he acquired a lease on Lot 1320 from the Crown in 1873 but he may have occupied Lot 1320 for a year or so before his Crown Lease came into force in January 1873. There were historical precedents for such a practice as the loan farm system had allowed a certain degree of flexibility in land occupation and this enabled people to settle on public land and only apply to register it when its productivity had been proved. “Authorities were prepared to see the occupancy of unalienated land as a legitimate form of land tenure and did not equate it with vagrancy” (Nell 1997:35). As the Fosters had already been farmers in the area for fifty years, they were experienced in establishing farmyards, and no doubt had appropriate labour at their disposal to do so with little delay. Lot 1320 was not prime land – surveyors consistently described it as rocky, and the Van Zyls and Nieuwoudts had apparently not bothered to apply to lease it – but it was available, and the Fosters, being entrepreneurial traders, were probably not against taking a calculated risk. As Lot 1320 had water available, 5–10 morgen of arable land and grazing for up to 300 sheep or goats, Ben Foster’s

acquisition may have been motivated by his awareness of the need for fresh produce on the Diamond Fields and he seized the opportunity to acquire it. The ruins of agrarian structures essential for crop and livestock production, namely a threshing floor and kraal, are in evidence today. Grain produced on Lot 1320 could have been milled at “De Vlei” and stored there. Presumably, farming Lot 1320 was acceptably successful, if not easy, over the next decade and a half.

If it is correct that Foster acquired Lot 1320 in order to increase his farming production to supply the wider reaches of the Cape Colony, then the fortunes of the wider economy also negatively impacted local providers. For example, in 1874 a collapse in diamond prices co-incided with a world depression in agricultural prices (Rotberg 1988:68) and in 1878 blue ground was reached in the Kimberley mine and extraction of the diamonds became more difficult. Moreover, the deeper the diggings, the more frequent the flooding with dangerous wall collapses in the open cast mines (Rotberg 1988:110). Such financial and technical difficulties affected public confidence in the future of the mines. Price fluctuations due to speculation meant that individual diggers and small consortiums found it more and more difficult to keep going. Banks would not finance individuals, and consequently amalgamations, syndicates and mergers characterized the 1880s (Rotberg 1988:Chapters 6 & 9).

It is therefore not surprising that in the early 1880s the Western Cape experienced a downturn in response to the negative fortunes of the Kimberley market, which had been an important outlet for its products. A simultaneous drought in the area did not help matters (Nell 1997:29). It may be that these factors contributed to Ben Foster’s decision to sub-let Lot 1320, and on 30 August 1889 he submitted a letter (MOOC LND Vol. 1/511 Ref. L3536) to the authorities applying to sublet Lot 1320 to Frans

September and Paulus Titus, both of Clanwilliam, for the remaining term of his lease, which would expire on 11 January 1894 (actually 13 January). There was no objection and the application was granted in September 1889. The surnames, September and Titus, are known to be family names of Cape slaves and the fact that no objection was raised indicates that the authorities were not averse to coloured occupation of Crown Land at the time.

In order to identify September and Titus, I consulted the baptismal register of St. Stephan's Gereformeerde Sending Kerk in Sederville which had succeeded the Augsburg Mission. The following baptisms for the 27 October 1872 were found:

Table 2.1: Baptisms on 27 October 1872 in St. Stephans Gereformeerde Sending Kerk, Sederville.

<u>Name of child baptized</u>	<u>Name of Father</u>	<u>Name of Mother</u>
Johannes September	Frans September	Cornelia Catherina Titus
Jeanetta Johanna Elizabeth September	Gert September	Elizabeth Maria Titus
Elizabeth Maria Margaretha Pretorius	Gert Pretorius	Maria Johanna Titus

The Table confirms family connections between persons with these two surnames. The repetition of the first names Elizabeth, Maria and Johanna between mothers and daughters suggests that the mothers were sisters. I could find no entry for the name Paulus Titus, but he may well have been a brother to the mothers. Although it cannot be established with certainty whether the Frans September referred to became Ben Foster's sub-tenant in 1889, this record nevertheless identifies men of these names as relatives in marriage and as members of a community located within easy access of Lot

1320. What is most important for the continuing history of Warmhoek is that it also confirms that ‘coloured’ men became official sub-tenants on Lot 1320.

It is possible that September and Titus were employed by the Foster family on their farms and, consequently, that they were already familiar with the farming of Lot 1320. On the other hand, it may be that Ben Foster had abandoned Lot 1320 some time before August 1889 as he was no longer making a profit from it and that September and Titus may have already been working it to their own account for some time, perhaps several years, before their sub-tenancy was formalized.

In any event, the Irish Ben Foster apparently had no qualms about his sub-tenants, but his Afrikaner neighbours are likely to have felt very differently, given the colonial history of Dutch dependency on slave labour, and latterly on the continued availability of a subservient and landless labour force. In the Clanwilliam district in the years following the emancipation of slaves in December 1834, some apprenticed slaves remained in the service of their former masters, while others attached themselves to the Wupperthal mission station. Others found that the mountain ranges of the district “offered unique opportunities for independent access to land” (Nell 1997:38) and yet others settled on unalienated Crown Land, i.e. public land that had not been granted or sold. Land owners reacted in a hostile manner to “the independent existence which access to public land offered blacks” and there was increasing intolerance of ‘squatting’ (Nell 1997:40). Nell cites the case of three ‘*Bastaard Hottentots*’ who for six years, with the permission of a Civil Commissioner, had occupied government ground in the ‘Cederbergen’ adjoining the farm Dwars Rivier which was owned by Ernst Nieuwoud. The men had built houses, cultivated land and established a large orchard. But in 1862 Nieuwoud and other white farmers threatened them, even though they were not

the owners of the land occupied by the three men. Although the three travelled to Cape Town to lodge a complaint and request that the land be surveyed for them – a preliminary to a quitrent grant or lease – they do not appear to have been successful (Nell 1987:43–44). Dwars Rivier is one of the farms on Jan Dissels Rivier 270 and it is possible that the farmer referred to is Ernst Hendrik Nieuwoudt (1826–1872), Jan Harmse Nieuwoudt's uncle. It may be that similar attitudes persisted among the white farming community of the area in 1889. The installation of September and Titus as sub-tenants can only have been interpreted by this community as a signal that Ben Foster did not intend to take transfer of Lot 1320, and therefore raised the possibility that the sub-tenants might attempt to do so instead.

Four years later, Frans September and Paulus Titus indeed applied to purchase Lot 1320. The ensuing correspondence contains the only available description of Lot 1320 Platberg given the fact that the original Lease document in favour of Ben Foster and the accompanying diagram for Lot 1320 have not been found. The Report dated 5 October 1893 by Civil Commissioner M. Smuts (LND Vol. 1/511 Ref.L3536) states:

- Lot 1320 measured 1424 morgen 127 square roods
- the whole of the extent was suitable for pasturage
- estimated carrying capacity: 300 sheep or goats, 50 head of cattle
- five to ten morgen of arable land along the Jan Dissels and Taaiboschkraal rivers
- constant water supply from the Jan Dissels and the Taaiboschkraal Rivers
- the distance from the market by road is given as six miles on an “easy road not good order”, “easy with an ordinary load”
- no timber
- no information furnished for the construction of dams

The application to purchase was made on behalf of September and Titus by means of a letter dated 26 July 1893 addressed to the Commissioner of Crown Lands and written by the General Agent Mr John P. Crowley. It stated that “The applicants are the occupiers and sub-lessees of the piece of land in question” and “the original lessee Mr S.B.J. Foster has expressed his unwillingness to become the purchaser”. He added that “All arrear and current rent is paid up to the expiration of the lease ending January 1894” (LND Vol.1/511 Ref.L3536). On 10 August 1893, the Surveyor General’s Office replied that the applicants should, per Act 19 of 1864, “.. obtain transfer of the lease...” Therefore, they could not buy the land as they were sub-tenants.

Foster, September and Titus tried to find their way around this obstacle and six weeks later on 6 September 1893 the application to purchase was withdrawn and Crowley requested the Surveyor General to substitute Mr Benjamin Foster as the purchaser as “all three have agreed among themselves” to this course of action (LND Vol.1/511 ref. L3536). In accordance with Section 1 of Act 5 of 1870, Ben Foster as lessee under Act 19 of 1864 could apply to purchase the property at a price to be agreed between himself and the Colonial Government, the price to be calculated according to a stipulated formula. An inspection of Lot 1320 was conducted by the Civil Commissioner, Mr M Smuts. The survey costs, to the account of the applicants, were £22.19s.9d., and Mr Smuts claimed an extra £1.15.6d for expenses incurred because it was “absolutely necessary for him to travel with 4 horses”.

An official letter of 14 October 1893 signed by J. Freislich advised that in terms of Section 18 of Act 15 of 1887 the Commissioner and the Clanwilliam Divisional Council had fixed the value of Lot 1320 Platteberg at £125. A month later, on 15 November 1893 (Number 2279 Reports), the Surveyor-General Mr. J. Templar-Horne wrote a note

over the Lease document in red ink stating that the minimum purchase price should be £250. This was in accordance with the formula: the “price shall in no case be less than a sum which reckoned as a principal sum would after the rate of six pounds sterling per hundred pounds, produce an amount of interest equal to the rent reserved on such lease” (CGH Government Statutes, Vol.II:2468), i.e. an annual rental of £15 represents interest on £250 (the principal sum) at the rate of £6 (interest) per £100, per annum. The price suggested by the Divisional Council had been incorrectly based on an annual rental of £7.10 shillings. It is difficult to know how to interpret this error. It is possible that Foster, September and Titus had indicated to the Divisional Council that this was the price they could afford. The Surveyor-General, however, preferred to apply the rule.

By 22 November 1893, the correct purchase price was not yet known to the parties concerned because Mr Crowly wrote to the Secretary for Mines and Agriculture in Cape Town, re “Lots No. 1318 and 1320” stating that “the parties are desirous of knowing if Government has already decided on the valuations made by the Divisional Council.” Six weeks later, on 13 January 1894, Foster’s Crown Lease expired without Foster having purchased Lot 1320. Probably the asking price and the additional costs, amounting to almost an extra £25, were too high for September and Titus, to whom Foster would have eventually sold Lot 1320.

Although five months passed apparently without any further action, the matter had not been forgotten by Dirk van Zyl and the Nieuwoudts. It would seem that on 30 June 1894, D J A Van Zyl and Gert Nieuwoudt had applied to purchase “certain Crown Land called Platberg in the division of Clanwilliam” under Section 14 of Act No.15 of 1887,



because on 8 September 1894, Mr P. A. Wege, wrote to the authorities requesting that the name of Jan H. Nieuwoudt be added to that application. This was approved in early September (LND Vol.1/511 Ref. L8117). Section 14 allowed owners of farms contiguous to a piece of Crown Land to apply for such land to be attached to one or more of the contiguous farms.

The issue of the sale of this land, however, went wider in the Clanwilliam community. On 12 September 1894, C.F. Leipoldt the Dutch Reformed Minister in Clanwilliam wrote a letter to the authorities (LND Vol.1/511 Ref. L8117) in terms of Section 16 of Act 15 of 1887 because he had heard that Platberg was to be sold. He requested, on behalf of the villagers, that this land should rather be added to the village commonage. He gave the following three reasons: there was little grazing available to villagers from June to November as the rough and rocky fields are then dry and barren; the land to be sold was very rocky and must have very little market value but was adequate for commonage for 30 cattle and 200 sheep or goats and had a strip of high or summer veld; fire wood was scarce and this mountain was the only place where villagers could get wood as it was difficult to obtain from the surrounding farmers.

On 30 January 1895, the Surveyor General wrote (LND Vol.1/511 Ref. L8117): “village is small and has ceased, I believe, to grow for some years past”, the “commonage ... is large enough” and the “Civil Commissioner gives reasons .. that the area and capabilities of the ground are such that it could be sold as an independent farm”. He therefore recommended that:

- the larger part of Platberg, southwards of the Jan Dissels River be sold by public auction (under Section 2 of Act 15 1887)

- “the small portion of it between Mr Van Zyl’s property (i.e. a portion of the farm Augsburg 197) and the river which separates it from the section to be sold by public auction, be disposed of under Section 14, to that gentleman at the rate of 2s 6d per morgen”

Section 2, Act 15 of 1887 stipulates that Crown Lands should be disposed of by public auction; Section 14 refers to the matter of private land which is contiguous to Crown Land and Section 17 states that the Civil Commissioner is empowered to suggest a fair and equitable price for such land. The above ruling gave Van Zyl and the Nieuwoudts the possibility of bidding for, and probably acquiring, the whole of the land as it was probably by this time, clear to them that Titus and September would not be able to bid for it. The ruling also ensured that Dirk van Zyl acquired the small portion of land which was contiguous to Augsburg and, finally, the ruling also divided the portion on which the agrarian structures stood from the larger portion, consisting of rocky grazing land, making it difficult to see how either could be regarded as an ‘independent farm’.

However, on 18 June 1895 the Office of the Superintendent of Woods and Forests recommended that the land should be added to the Commonage as this would increase grazing dues to the Government (LND Vol.1/511 Ref. L8117). The forest, which was flourishing, could be extended onto this land but the Superintendent also recommended that the necessities of the people should be consulted. He added that the Forest Ranger had supported this idea as “otherwise the inhabitants will grumble”.

In response, on 8 July 1895, Surveyor-General Templar-Horne penned a three-page Report (No.1250) summarizing the discussions about Platberg (LND Vol.1/511 Ref. L8117). He stated that the motivation for offering the larger part of Platberg for sale

by auction had been to give all “applicants including the erfholders” the opportunity of buying it. He now revised his earlier recommendation and suggested that because “the erfholders of Clanwilliam” objected to the sale of the land as this would deprive them of access to firewood, the land which was to be auctioned should instead be handed over to the Forestry Department “on the understanding that facilities for grazing and obtaining firewood for purely domestic purposes will not be denied the residents of the town”. On 20 July 1895, Mr. M. Hammond-Tooke for the Department of Agriculture and Mr E. Hutch, Conservator of Forests, concurred with this suggestion (LND Vol.1/511 Ref. L8117). The larger portion, now designated Platberg A, remained Crown Land and Platberg, B later known as Warmhoek, was granted to D J A Van Zyl on 7 August 1896 in accordance with the recommended rate: 152 morgen at 2s6d per morgen amounted to £19 (Appendix 2.1). Lot 1320 – and September and Titus – disappeared from the records.

Looking back at Rev. C.F. Leipoldt’s 12 September 1894 letter to the authorities, and the reasons he gives to support his appeal that this land should rather be added to the village commonage, one has the impression that September and Titus may not have farmed Platberg 1320 as a commercial enterprise. Rather it seems that, by January 1894 when the Crown Lease in favour of Foster expired, the land was already being used communally for grazing and the collection of wood. Surveyor-General Templar-Horne’s Report No. 1250 of 8 July 1895 supports such an interpretation as he implied that “erfholders” would be *deprived of access* to firewood if the land were sold. This suggests that they already *had* access at the time.

Leipoldt’s appeal had been on behalf of villagers who obtained wood by gathering it themselves or were dependent on farmers for their supply of wood, to which farmers

were reluctant to allow them access. I suggest that Leipoldt's 'villagers' were the landless coloured community of which September and Titus were members, and for whose spiritual and worldly well-being Ds. Leipoldt was temporarily responsible during the interim period between the death of Rev. Smits in 1895 and the appointment of Rev. C. Grové in late 1897 (Feeskomitee (a) 1926:27). It is not clear if they are also the people Templar-Horne referred to as "erfholders". Either way, Lot 1320 was a source of firewood open to 'villagers' and the question therefore arises as to the use that September and Titus had made of the Lot 1320. Had they made it productive for themselves by raising crops, grazing their own flocks and charging villagers for access to grazing and wood collection?

According to the Report of Inspection by the Government Land Surveyor, Mr W. De Smidts, conducted on 28 November 1895 (Appendix 2.2) it measured 142 morgen 41 square roods. His measurement excluded the area of the riverbed which was deemed to cover 10 morgen of the property. However, the diagram (Appendix 2.3) and transfer records give the extent as 152 morgen 41 square roods. Platberg B had "about a ¼ of a morgen of arable land and "about a 100 morgen" of pasture with a stock carrying capacity of "a few sheep or goats". No improvements were recorded. It was on the north-west or inner bank of the Jan Dissels River (Old Register P2, Small farms register 258 Folio 515] and relevant Diagram 743/1896, renumbered 5798/1896 dated 7 August 1896) (Appendix 2.3) and was bounded by Augsburg farm, Jan Dissels Vley or Bosch Kloof, and by the north-west or inner bank of the Jan Dissels River, opposite which Crown Land Platberg A had been created (Fig. 2.1). It included the lower reaches of the Taaiboschkraal River where it drains into the Jan Dissels River. The Government Land Surveyor, Mr W. de Smidts, showed the beacons to Mr Dirk van Zyl and to Messrs E. Nieuwoudt & Russouw (sic)". The identity of Mr Russouw is not known and he is not

mentioned in any other document. E Nieuwoudt may have been Ernst Nieuwoudt (1877–1937) of Boschkloof (aged 19), who possibly represented the family for the purpose of beacon identification.

Once this ownership tussle had been resolved, the documentary trail grows relatively cold. Dirk van Zyl may have taken occupation of Platberg B as early as January 1895 when the suggestion to subdivide Lot 1320 was made by the Surveyor-General, or a little later in the year once the final decision to do so had been taken. It was transferred to him on 7 August 1896. He owned it until his death in 1917 and it was inherited by his second son (Appendix 2.1). How the property was used between 1896 and 1918 is not recorded and is not known. However, it is improbable that Foster or the coloured community had further access to it. The question as to what Van Zyl did with Platberg B after he had taken occupation will be addressed in the next chapter.

The next documented record for Platberg B is the transfer to Van Zyl's son Pieter in May 1920 but the archaeological record indicates that it was occupied in the intervening years as will be shown in Chapter 4. These intervening years were historically turbulent: the outbreak of the South African ('Boer War') threw the country into turmoil in 1899. Clanwilliam town became a British camp: the Clanwilliam School was used as hospital and administrative centre and also accommodated the officers (Feeskomitee (b):30). There was a supply depot and field hospital on the commonage beyond Park Street (Langham-Carter 1993:29). Just before Christmas in 1901 there were skirmishes on the Pakhuis Pass. The war forced Dutch and British inhabitants to take sides despite the fact that they had always got on well and that, according to Langham-Carter "relations between the troops and the townsfolk were cordial" even through the post-war years when martial law prevailed (Langham-Carter 1993:31). The local coloured

population acted as mule drivers and messengers for the British forces (Langham–Carter 1993:31) and served in the Native Convoy and Town Guard. After the war they found that both farmers and townspeople appeared to be opposed to them due to their involvement in the conflict (Nell 1997:87).

Peace was signed in 1902 and the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910. However, deep divisions in Afrikaner politics had formed during the war years. At least one Clanwilliam youth, Martin van Dyk, aged 21, participated in the September 1914 Rebellion in the Transvaal (pers. comm. Maxie Zimmerman. Interview, 21 July 2006), a coup planned by Boer generals to overthrow General Botha. This event put Afrikaners who had fought together against the British into armed conflict against each other. The Rebellion ended in January 1915 and Martin van Dyk's return to Clanwilliam opened another page in the history of Platberg B, which had in the interim acquired the popular name of Warmhoek.

Martin van Dyk had lived and worked at Boskloof after leaving school and appears to have done so again on his return. He courted Bettie Truter whose mother and stepmother were the daughters of Heremias Cornelis Nieuwoudt (1848–1929) and Elizabeth G.M.E. Smit of Boskloof. Her father, Frans Johannes Truter, also worked and lived at Boskloof. In 1917 or 1918 Martin and Bettie were married and they went to live at Warmhoek, in an existing five-roomed farmhouse (pers.comm. Maxie Zimmerman, Stella Saaiman and Frans T. van Dyk. Interviews. April 2006 ff.). As Dirk van Zyl had died in 1917 the young Van Dyks were effectively tenants of his Estate until Bettie's father, Frans Truter, bought Platberg B in December 1920 from Pieter van Zyl.

The arrival of Bettie van Dyk at Warmhoek again linked the Nieuwoudts of Boskloof with Platberg B. A photograph in a centenary celebration publication of the Dutch Reformed

Church of Clanwilliam in October 1926 (Feeskomitee (b):28) is of interest (Fig. 2.5). At this time, Bettie and Martin were living at Warmhoek (pers.comm. Hester Louw. Interview. 22 November 2007).



Fig. 2.5. DRC Council in 1926.

The photograph shows that Martin's eldest brother, Abraham van Dyk (back row, extreme right) and their brother-in-law, J. J. Louw (front row, extreme left) were members of the Dutch Reformed Church Council together with the now aged Jan Harmse ('Babie') Nieuwoudt (1862–1927) of Boschkloof (front row, third from right) to whom Bettie was related and who, I have suggested, was the man who had joined Gert Nieuwoudt and Dirk van Zyl in applying to purchase Lot 1320.

Bettie's father, Frans Truter, died in approximately 1925 and Platberg B was transferred to Samuel Seff in early 1926, but Martin and Bettie remained at Warmhoek until 1927 (pers.comm. Telephone conversation, Hester Louw. 20 December 2007), when they returned to Boskloof so that their daughters could attend school (Fig. 2.6).



Fig. 2.6. Martin van Dyk (back row, centre), Bettie van Dyk (middle row, left), and their daughters (front, left and right), c. 1928.

There is no record of other occupants of Warmhoek after the departure of the Van Dyks.

Samuel Seff, the last private owner of Platberg B, was a self-styled “speculator” ((MOOC 6/9/3693 26038) who was no doubt aware that the Government was buying land from Van Zyl’s Estate for incorporation into the Augsburg Agricultural College. In 1933 it was in fact sold from his Estate and transferred to the Government of South Africa. The last oral record of Warmhoek was as a campsite for weapons practice by the Agricultural College youth commandos (pers. comm. Telephone conversation. Octavius Maas. April 2006).



*Discussion*

We have seen in this chapter that in the late nineteenth century the land of the district of Clanwilliam was largely owned by Afrikaner descendants of the earlier Dutch settlers. The white population of the town likewise consisted of a substrate of Afrikaners and an infusion of Irish inhabitants, deliberately settled there in 1820 by the new British Colonial authority. By the end of the century they had been to some extent integrated into the Afrikaner community by economic and social activity, including intermarriage as can be seen in family names such as John Foster van Wyk. Very few people of colour had retained any land rights. The coloured population of the district constituted the labour pool and lived either on Wupperthal mission station, or on outlying farms, or on the fringe of Clanwilliam village in the vicinity of the St. Stephan's church. The underlying contests between these groups were those of ethnicity, politics and the control of access to land.

The records of Lot 1320 show that between 1894 and 1896 Lot 1320, a parcel of rocky Crown Land long disdained by neighbouring Afrikaner farmers, was inveigled by the force of law out of the control of an Irish Settler descendant and two coloured families and brought under government and Afrikaner control. If the General Agent Mr John P. Crowley had given better advice to his clients Foster, September and Titus in July 1893, when Foster's lease had only six months left to run, Foster could have applied to purchase the land he had leased for 21 years. This would in all likelihood have been granted and he could have sold on to September and Titus thereafter. Crowley should have known that the law did not allow sub-tenants to buy over the head of the leaseholder and that Crown Land could only be sold by auction. Perhaps Crowley was careless, being in a hurry to process the matter as quickly as possible as the date of expiry of the Foster's lease was fast approaching.

The crucial event in this affair was Foster's agreeing to sub-let to the two slave descendants. Apart from the advantage to him that they, presumably, paid the £15 annual rental, was he motivated to 'cock a snook' at his neighbouring Afrikaner farmers by causing them consternation, or was he aware of the significant opportunity he could facilitate on behalf of September and Titus? There are records (Nell 1996:15–16) showing that Clanwilliam Irish Settlers were in fact sensitive to the difficulties that emancipated slaves, Khoesan and 'Bastaards' encountered in gaining access to land. In the early 1820s the settlers Synnot and Parker had refused to take land ('Varkens-Fonteyn') because the occupant, Abraham Zwarts, a "Hottentot in the Clanwilliam district" had been "threatened with dispossession" when the land was offered to them. Captain Synnot and Parker were "distressed by this blatant injustice, (and) were instrumental in helping Abraham Zwarts receive a full grant of the land on perpetual quitrent". And John Foster displayed a liberal attitude when he took it upon himself to supply slaves with chairs from the Dutch Reformed Church for a dance party. Was the active support given by Ben Foster to September and Titus's application to purchase Lot 1320 another example of British empathy with the indigenous people which contrasts markedly with the innumerable records which show that throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Khoi and 'bastard Hottentots' were dispossessed by the imposition of various colonial authorities' plans for their land (Nell 1996:1).

Whatever the truth behind these matters, the fact remains that after the expiry of Foster's lease, his Afrikaner neighbour, Dirk van Zyl, and the 'colonial authorities' between them took over Lot 1320 having (deliberately or unfortunately) obstructed the efforts of Foster, September and Titus to acquire it.

In the next chapter, and against the background of the property transfers outlined above and the life circumstances of Warmhoek's owners and occupiers, I consider the question of who built the Warmhoek farm structures and who ultimately deposited the archaeological debris that was strewn over the surface of the property and in the middens around the house.

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### CHAPTER 3 – WHO BUILT WARMHOEK FARM?

In the previous chapter we have seen how a piece of pasture land with some arable areas passed from the hands of an Irish Settler descendant into the hands of the Colonial Government and an Afrikaner farmer, Dirk van Zyl, and how, during this process, laws pertaining to the transfer of land, and the authority of government officials, thwarted an attempt by two coloured men, September and Titus, to acquire title to the land.

Prior to its transfer to Dirk van Zyl, Platberg B was inspected on 28 November 1895 by the Government Surveyor, Mr W. de Smidts. Paragraph 9 of the Report of Inspection (Appendix 2.2) requires information regarding “Timber forest or bush, minerals and precious stones, improvements, if any, and their cost, as also the amount the market value may be enhanced by such improvements”. Smidts wrote: “Improvements. Nil – there are some indigenous trees along the River. No particular value”. Yet the walls of a substantial five-roomed dwelling and the foundations of another small dwelling, as well as the ruins of several agrarian structures (a threshing floor, a kraal, a small outbuilding, a stable and a small stock enclosure) are present on Warmhoek today and other archaeological residues are associated with them.

Paragraph 9, referred to above, therefore infers that all the Warmhoek structures were built after November 1895. This inference needs to be carefully considered particularly as Section 20 of Act 15 of 1887 states that improvements on land “shall not be taken into consideration” when fixing the value of land “purchased by any lessee”<sup>4</sup> and therefore, De Smidts’s failure to mention any structures does not necessarily imply that none were present on Platberg B in November 1895. I continue to use documents and

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<sup>4</sup> Van Zyl was not a lessee, but the owner of a contiguous property.

biographical data obtained from oral testimonies and genealogical records in an effort to discover when and by whom these structures were built and used. It is important to be clear that in discussing 'Warmhoek farm' we are dealing with two distinct and consecutive entities: Lot 1320, in existence from 1873 to 1894, and Platberg B, created when Lot 1320 was sub-divided into Platberg A and Platberg B in 1896. Lot 1320 measured over 1424 morgen of which five to ten morgen were arable and the rest suitable for pasturage, having a stated carrying capacity of 300 sheep or goats and 50 head of cattle. Platberg B measured just over 152 morgen. Only a quarter of a morgen was arable, one hundred morgen was pasture with a stated carrying capacity of a few sheep or goats, the remaining forty morgen being unsuitable for either.

We have noted that Ben Foster and his wife, Eliza Shawe, came from families that owned several farms in the Clanwilliam area and that the Fosters were active, entrepreneurial traders. Ben and Eliza lived in a substantial house on the Main Street in Clanwilliam on land owned by the Foster family since 1825. The property was known for its extensive garden and its citrus trees. Ben Foster was thirty-two years old in 1873 when he signed the 21-year lease on Lot 1320 'Platteberg'. As noted, the acquisition of the lease was possibly a business speculation in response to "the mineral revolution based on diamonds and (later) gold (which) had created a market for grain in the South African interior incomparably greater than any that had previously existed..." (Ross 1986:57). I have already suggested that Ben Foster, perhaps assisted by other family members, would have made immediate use of the pasturage and arable land in order to supply the Diamond Fields' market.

If this was the case, then the property would presumably still have required some infrastructure to function in this way. The presence of grazing animals, which require

shelter at night, and the cultivation of crops, would have required the erection of a kraal, a threshing floor, and perhaps a stable for donkeys or mules used for the threshing activity, and a small stock enclosure for lambs. It is, therefore, possible that structures related to stock- and crop-farming were erected in the early 1870s when Foster had control of the land. It is also likely that a small dwelling for shepherds and herders was erected at the same time. It is highly unlikely that Ben Foster would have erected the large house at this time: he had no need of it as 'Orange Grove' had been built in 1869. However, his younger brother might have assumed management of the farming activities at Lot 1320 and might have seen fit to build the farmhouse. He was 30 years old in 1873 and married to Eliza's sister, Lydia Marianne. However, it is unlikely, given the youthfulness of the brothers and the speculative nature of this enterprise, that they went to this expense, especially as the family property in town had several cottages in its grounds in which extended-family members were accommodated.

As we know, in August 1889, after having occupied Lot 1320 for approximately sixteen years, Ben Foster applied for and was given permission to sublet the property to Frans September and Paulus Titus (LND vol.1/511 ref. L3536). It may be that Ben Foster had accepted them as unofficial sub-tenants prior to 1889 and that they all now wished to formalize this arrangement. As it was a "fairly common" practice to make improvements to land in the hope of becoming a lessee or purchaser (Nell 1997:35), it is possible that these two men not only farmed on Lot 1320 for longer than the four and a half years of their sub-tenancy, but also erected the agrarian infrastructure. Alternatively, they may have used Lot 1320 mainly as pasturage for village flocks and the collection of firewood. While they are not likely to have built a large home on land

which they did not own, their application to purchase does suggest that they had some ambitions for Lot 1320.

Given the above, it is reasonable to suggest that stock and crop farming took place on Warmhoek during the period of Foster's Crown Lease and that agrarian structures necessary for these activities were erected, as well as a small dwelling for shepherds, and that the presence of these improvements was an attraction for September and Titus. The question is whether they lived on the land while they leased it? That this is probable is indicated by General Agent Crowley's letter of 26 July 1893 which states that they were "the occupiers and sub-lessees of the land" which they applied to purchase.

If it is true that the main farmhouse was not erected during the currency of Foster's lease of Lot 1320, then we must again turn to Dirk van Zyl and ask whether he built the large house on Platberg B? In August 1896 when he acquired Platberg B, the smaller sub-division of Lot 1320, Dirk Van Zyl was forty-four years old. He had owned and occupied Augsburg for over twenty years. He also owned and or controlled (parts of) Taaiboschkraal, and Groot Patrysvlei, farms given to him and his brother, Izak, in 1874, by their father. In short, in 1896, he was a commercial farmer and a man of prominent standing in Clanwilliam – the old landed-gentry type (Kotze 1981:87).

It is difficult to see what value the acquisition of Platberg B could add to Dirk van Zyl's existing farm holdings and it is unlikely that he would build a kraal – unnecessarily large for 'a few sheep and goats' – and a threshing floor, as well as other agrarian structures, to serve a small piece of land with no real production capacity. Given the distance of nearly nine kilometres on a sand road from the Augsburg to the Warmhoek

farmyards it is additionally unlikely that he would go to the expense of building a family house on Platberg B because when there was probably adequate land available in the vicinity of the Augsburg homestead. In fact, at the time when Van Zyl was attempting to acquire Lot 1320, he was actively constructing a new building there for his private school (Feeskomitee (a): 28).

In the light of the events surrounding the transformation of Lot 1320 into Platberg A and Platberg B, and the socio-political undercurrents already referred to, I suggest that Dirk van Zyl had no interest in the agrarian improvements which were already present, that he had the means to build the 5-roomed, well-constructed and prominently placed farmhouse and that he populated it with members of his family as an overt statement of ownership and occupation so that Clanwilliam villagers, who now had official access to Platberg A on the Clanwilliam side of the river for the collection of firewood for domestic purposes, could have no doubt that Platberg B was out of bounds.

As will be shown below, this is a house of some substance. Dirk van Zyl would certainly not have occupied the house himself given that by then he had ten children aged between twenty-six and four years of age. He may have initially installed his eldest son there to assume small-scale farming; Paul Hendrik Stephanus was aged twenty-three at the time. However, after Paul married in 1901 he farmed at Groot Patrysvlei (pers. comm. Salomé Burden. Interview. 20 January 2007). Therefore, if Paul lived at Platberg B, it might have been for approximately four years, as a bachelor, between 1896 and 1901. If his second son, Pieter, ever lived there it would not have been until approximately 1902 when he was 18. He may have taken over from his elder brother when Paul married in 1901. Pieter himself married in 1907 and Salome



Burden states that Pieter took over the farming at Augsburg in 1914 after the death of his mother as his father was spending much of his time in Cape Town where he soon remarried. This suggests that Pieter was already farming and living at Augsburg before that date. Alternatively, it may be that one of Dirk van Zyl's elder daughters of marriageable age lived there, but this is a speculative suggestion.

It is therefore possible that the new farmhouse on Platberg B was occupied from approximately 1896 to 1907 either by his two sons, one after the other, or by a married daughter and son-in-law, but we do not know this for certain, nor is it known who occupied Platberg B from 1907 to 1918. We do know, however, that Platberg B had acquired the popular name 'Warmhoek' by 1910, because this name is given in a painted inscription in the historical painted shelter located further upstream of the farm yard; a fifteen minute easy walk away.

After the death of Dirk van Zyl in 1917, Pieter took transfer of "De Plaats Platberg" (MOOC 6/9/983 3307) and seven months later he transferred it to Frans Truter. It was valued at £200 in the Estate papers. In 1896 Platberg B had been granted to Van Zyl for £19 and the valuation was £30. It may well be that the significant increase in the 1920 valuation for Estate Duty purposes can be attributed to the addition of the substantial house during the twenty-four years it was owned by the Van Zyl family.

When Lot 1320 ceased to exist as an entity, the Nieuwoudt names disappeared from the records. Platberg B was not sufficiently substantial to be shared by multiple owners and Van Zyl was willing to take transfer on his own. Moreover, perhaps, the point had been made: September and Titus had been excluded from the property. However, Platberg B is in fact remote from Augsburg farmyard although it shares a boundary with

the property and is on the same side of the Jan Dissels River. It is wedged between an S-bend in the river on a narrow terrace and there is a steep 300–400 metre long rocky outcrop on its boundary with Augsburg (Fig. 2.1). The paucity of the descriptions of the road to Warmhoek given in the surveys of October 1893 for Lot 1320 and November 1895 for Platberg B make it difficult to identify where it lay (Fig. 2.1). The earlier description states that the distance from the market by road is six miles on an “easy road not in good order” yet “easy with an ordinary load”<sup>5</sup>. The second description states that the distance from Clanwilliam, in a straight line, is “1½ (no measurement unit given; presumably miles) from Clanwilliam by a good road, rather sandy”<sup>6</sup>. The modern map (Fig.2.1) indicates that the most likely access was via a turn off from the Augsburg–Taaiboschkraal–Boschkloof road. There was also a footpath from Boskloof to Clanwilliam along the Jan Dissels River (pers.comm. Hester Louw. Interview, 22 November 2007) and this would probably have passed through Platberg B. The net result of this topography is that Warmhoek occupants would have connected more easily with the occupants of Boskloof to their north-east, which is also the direction that the house faces, than with those of Augsburg to their south-west.

It may well be that members of the Nieuwoudt family rented Platberg B from Dirk van Zyl for extra grazing or even as a residence. Mrs. Lettie Avenant, widow of Ernst Hendrik Nieuwoudt, has remarked that “Warmhoek was ons land op ‘n tyd” (pers. comm. Telephone conversation. 18 April 2006) i.e. “was once our land”, and this suggests that Warmhoek was indeed occupied in some way by Boskloof Nieuwoudts, or perhaps by Vissers who had married into the Nieuwoudt family.

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<sup>5</sup> This distance (=10 km) is confirmed by Google Earth and refers to a northerly exit from Warmhoek farm yard to access the Boskloof Road passing Taaiboschkraal and Augsburg

<sup>6</sup> The measuring points are not stated. Google Earth shows a distance from the Warmhoek farmyard to the old DR Church on the Main Road in Clanwilliam to be 3.2 miles in a straight line.

On 22 December 1920, Platberg B was transferred from Pieter van Zyl to Frans Johannes Truter who owned it until he died four to five years later. In his youth, Frans Truter had been a tenant farmer at Boskloof (Pers. comm. Frans Truter van Dyk. Interview. 14 September 2007) and he married into the family of the Nieuwoudts of Boskloof: his two wives were sisters. His eldest daughter, Bettie, was born in Van Rhynsdorp but from 1894 onwards the baptismal records of his 10 younger children place him in Clanwilliam.

By the second decade of the twentieth century, Truter was a tenant farmer at Taaiboschkraal while his daughter, Bettie, and her husband Martin van Dyk, were living at Warmhoek (pers. comm. Frans T. van Dyk. Interview, 14 September 2007). Therefore, it would appear that Truter bought Platberg B, not for himself, but for his daughter. It is possible that he did so because Bettie and Martin were already living there as tenants of (Estate Late) Dirk van Zyl. Frans Truter was insolvent when he died in approximately 1925. Given the above biography, which indicates that he was not financially well off, it seems unlikely that Truter built the large farmhouse. Further statements by Martin van Dyk's children, Frans T. van Dyk, Stella Saaiman and Maxie Zimmerman (pers. comm. Interview at Warmhoek farm. 14 September 2007) (Fig. 3.1) insist that Bettie and Martin van Dyk, as a recently married couple, moved into an already existing house, not a new one. Bettie and Martin had three children while they lived at Warmhoek, two daughters and a son. Their first born son (third child) was born on 16 October 1926 but died in mid-November. Shortly after his death, Bettie and Martin left Warmhoek and went back to live at Boskloof where their two daughters could attend school (pers.comm. Hester Louw. Interview. 22 November 2007) (Fig. 3.2). Their second son, Frans Truter van Dyk (Fig. 3.1) was born at Boskloof in 1929.



Fig. 3.1 Stella Saaiman, Frans Truter van Dyk, and Maxie Zimmerman at Warmhoek (September 2007)

### *Discussion*

The documents state that there were no improvements on Warmhoek in October 1893, yet it is clear from the agrarian ruins still standing that in the period under review it was a functioning farm. Only the sub-tenants Titus and September are documented as having been “occupiers” of Lot 1320 Platberg (LND Vol.1/511 ref. L3536). All other people whose names are documented do not appear to have occupied the property. The names of Martin and Bettie van Dyk, who are known, by the oral testimony referred to above, to have occupied the Warmhoek farmhouse in the early 1920s, do not appear in any documents related to the place.



Fig. 3.2 Maxie Zimmerman and her first cousin Hester Louw.

Ben Foster, or members of his extended family, may have built at least some of the agrarian structures on Lot 1320 in the 1870s and may well have built a small dwelling. If there were no improvements there by the 1880s, actively farming tenants would have needed to provide them themselves. Given the fact that September and Titus became legal sub-tenants and occupied the property, they may well have invested in some improvements. Their 1893 application to purchase suggests that they had some means, but they would not have built a home on land they did not yet own and they would certainly not have built such a large one. If Warmhoek had long ceased to be farmed commercially and had in latter years been used only for grazing and the collection of firewood by villagers, the agrarian structures may already have been in an unusable and ruinous state in 1895, and this could also explain De Smidts' failure to record improvements.

It seems that Dirk van Zyl had the means to build whatever structures were required on Platberg B. However, if there were no agrarian structures on the property in 1896, it is difficult to suggest a business-like motivation for investing significant capital in this

small property. It seems reasonable, on the basis of the above biographies, to infer that agrarian structures and a small, simple dwelling were already present in 1896 when Dirk van Zyl built the large farmhouse. Oral testimony is convincing that neither Frans J. Truter nor his daughter, Bettie, and son-in-law, Martin van Dyk, built the main farmhouse and that it was already standing at the end of the second decade of the twentieth century when Frans Truter became the owner of Warmhoek. Given the above, I identify Ben Foster and his tenants as the builder(s) of the agrarian structures and the small dwelling on the path and Dirk van Zyl as the builder of the large farmhouse on the main terrace in the late 1890s.

Given that the documents show a succession of owners, I turn in the next chapter to the built environment of Warmhoek for any evidence, or absence of evidence, of a similar succession of construction events. I will also compare nearby farmhouses in the Boskloof valley with the Warmhoek farmhouse which appears anomalous in this landscape.

## CHAPTER 4 – WARMHOEK FARMYARD LAYOUT, FARM STRUCTURES AND EXCAVATIONS

### Introduction

The documented history of Warmhoek records the sequence of ownership of the property. The surveyors' reports (1893 and 1896) refer specifically to the agrarian capacities of Lots 1320 and Platberg B respectively. Lot 1320 had five to ten morgen of arable land and sufficient pasture for three hundred sheep or goats and fifty head of cattle. Platberg B (Warmhoek) had a quarter of a morgen of arable land and one hundred morgen for pasture on which a few sheep or goats could be kept. However, historical records and oral testimonies have been unable to provide any direct information about the built features of the farm, although some likely suggestions have been made. A consideration of their distribution, structure and building techniques may contribute further.

There are five agrarian structures and two dwellings on the property. The presence of a kraal, a threshing floor, a small stock enclosure and a stable are evidence that stock and crop farming were indeed undertaken on the property and that draught animals were sheltered there. The two dwellings are described and compared and this provides some ideas about their chronological relationship to each other and to the agrarian structures.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> I rely on the field notes of Simon Hall and John Parkington and on the projects of the UCT Field School students for information about the structures.



### Farmyard layout and structures

As can be seen in Fig. 4.1, the Warmhoek farm yard is located on a narrow terrace which is created on the west by a rocky cliff and on the east by the Jan Dissels River. This terrace slopes gradually down from south to north.

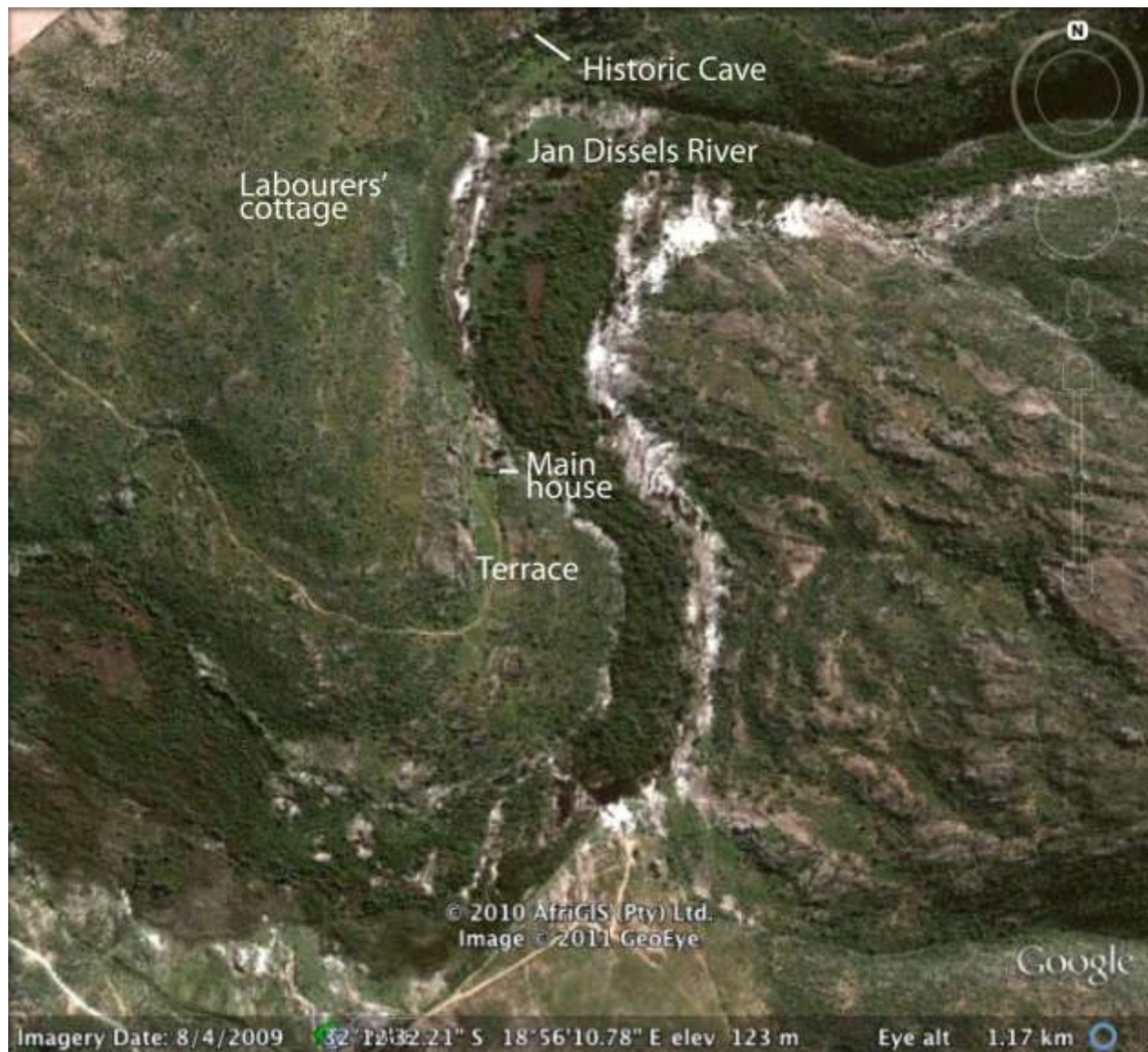


Fig. 4.1. Map of Platberg B terrace on the Jan Dissels River showing main house, small dwelling and historic cave.



This topography has resulted in the structures being laid out on a linear axis on the terrace (Fig. 4.2).



Fig. 4.2. Map of Platberg B terrace showing layout of farm structures and location of the kitchen midden.

A vehicle track follows the same axis and was initially assumed to be the original approach track from the south. Thus, the farm yard was interpreted as being approached from the back and hidden from Clanwilliam. Irrespective of the date of the southern track, the house is indeed hidden from Clanwilliam by the cliff on its western side. The perception that the house faced away from the route into the farm yard is

now known to be incorrect and the house in fact faced the main front access from the north. I have already shown (Chapter 3) that cart access from the south was not possible due to the rocky topography.

The present track passes between the built features of the farm, some of which lie to its east nearer the river, while others lie to its west, at the base of the cliff. The slope of the ground is generally to the north-east. The terrace is approximately ten metres above the river bed at the southern end and five metres above the river at the southern end where the house is situated. There is an intervening lower terrace.

Ruins of the following structures, listed from south to north, are: a threshing floor, a kraal, foundations of a small agrarian structure, the main farmhouse, a stable, a small stock enclosure and the rectangular foundations of a small building, later identified as a dwelling by artefacts found there (Fig. 4.1 and 4.2). I describe the built environment from south to north, however, I will discuss the two dwellings last.

### *Threshing floor*

The threshing floor is the most southerly structure on the site. It is located on the east side of the track, upslope and north of the present weir which diverts water into the Clanwilliam furrow. The threshing floor was surveyed and drawn (Fig. 4.3). It is a circular stone structure ten metres in diameter on flat bedrock slabs. We assume that it had a clay floor and that the bedrock facilitated this, but it has not survived. The stone work consists of a single row of slabs selected for length and placed upright. The entrance is to the south-west, facing away from the farmyard and on the edge of the slope down to the river. There is logic to the location of the threshing floor on the

highest open ground at the southern end of the terrace, where it is exposed to the wind to facilitate the winnowing of cereal.

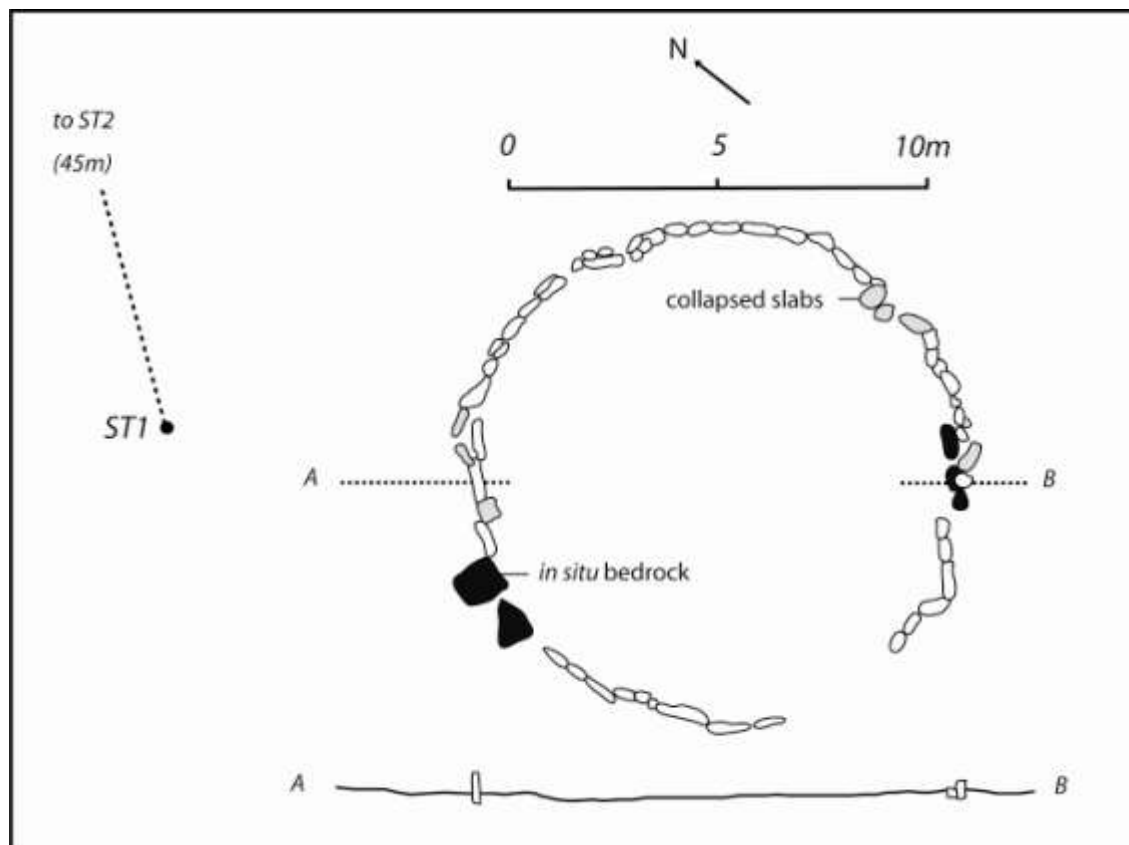


Fig. 4.3. Plan of threshing floor.

### *Kraal*

The stone kraal lies west of the track at the base of the cliff (Fig. 4.4). The three to four metre high cliff to the west serves as its western perimeter and so it is walled on only three sides. The kraal is 22 metres long. Much of the original stone is probably missing and there are five apertures in these walls. The height of the remaining walls is no more than a couple of courses in some places. Several different walling methods are evident and this might underpin the expansion of this kraal over time. The south wall measures 12 metres in length but it does not run to the base of the cliff. It has

some irregularly shaped rocks at its west end and the gap may have been closed with brush wood. The remainder of the south wall has been carefully constructed as a

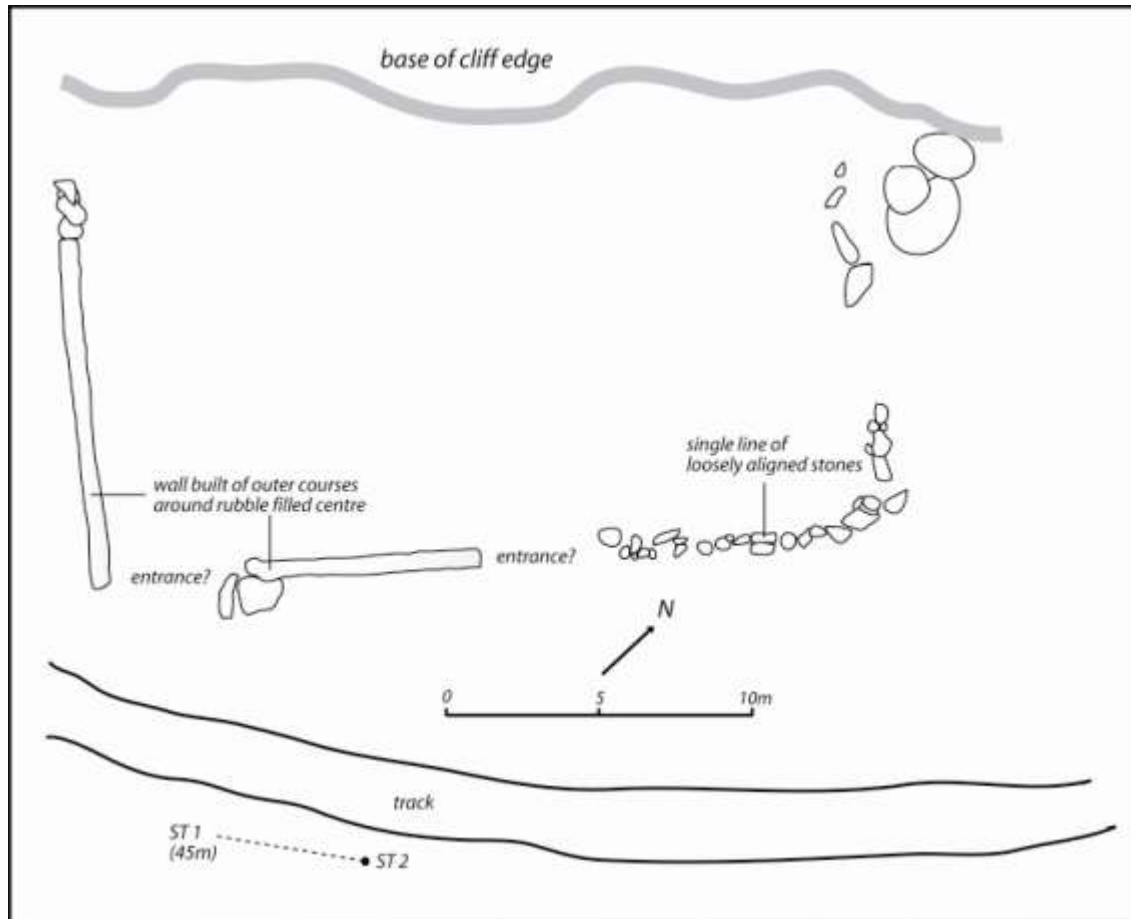


Fig. 4.4. Plan of kraal.

double row of stones, filled with rubble. The blocks are 450 – 600 mm long and have been selected for their rectangular shape. The variety of walling methods and the incorporation of the natural feature of the cliff as a fourth side indicates an informal building technique.

The east facing wall, at its south end, has a one and a half to two metre wide gap which has been interpreted as an entrance to the kraal. On the north side of this entrance there is a large keystone. The east wall is split into two sections separated by another entrance. The southern seven metres continues with a rubble filled centre. The northern end of this first section is formally finished. The northern ten metres of the eastern wall is built in an informal way and is in stark contrast to the southern section. Bits and pieces of wire suggest that the wall may have long since been non-functional and had been superceded, or at least added to, with fencing,

The north wall also measures 12 metres in length and, like the south wall it does not meet the base of the cliff. The northern wall continues the informal building technique of the northern section of the east wall. It has a large central gap. Four large blocks to the west of this gap are ambiguously placed. To the east of the gap several smaller blocks are loosely laid in a single row.

The kraal clearly can be divided into two halves, the formally built southern section and an informally built northern section. This distinction may be due to different building episodes and, if so, implies an expansion of the kraal size. If the kraal does represent a building sequel, however, it is not possible to say what the order of that sequel was.

### *'Pig Sty'*

Approximately 67 metres from the northern wall of the kraal, further north and west of the track (Fig. 4.2), the foundations of a small rectangular structure measuring 3.8 x 2.2 metres were excavated revealing evidence of a clay floor and partial dividing walls which create two separate sections possibly with a thoroughfare between them (Fig.4.5).

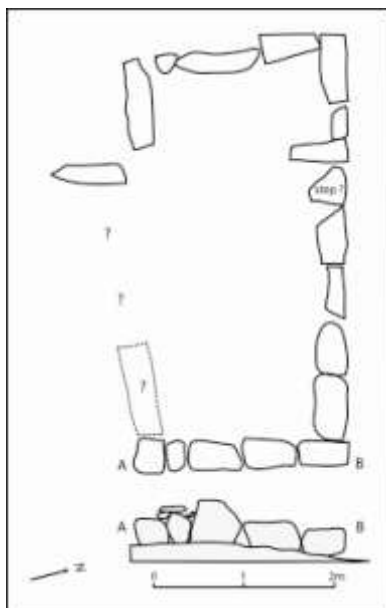


Fig. 4.5. Plan and profile of 'pig sty'.

The south perimeter has some walling at its extremities, i.e. corners, but lacks evidence of any other walling. The east wall is a row of stones and rubble infill. The north foundations have two separate L-shaped sections (west and east) projecting inwards and are made of a single row of stones. The opening between the sections is spanned by three flat slabs laid on an E-W axis in line with the north wall sections to create a step or lintel. The west wall is a single row of very large rocks. These foundations appear fairly substantial in parts which suggests load bearing potential. Its purpose is not clear, but a pig sty has been suggested.

A few metres further north, also on the west side of the track, on somewhat higher ground, stand the four walls and chimney of the large main house dwelling (Figs 4.1 and 4.2) which, at its south wall, has the foundations of another structure abutting the southern wall. This house and its associated structure will be discussed later in this chapter.

### *Small stock enclosure*

The track passes between the west end of the main dwelling and the east face of the cliff and extends downwards to the north (Fig. 4.1). From this point, the terrace between cliff and river becomes narrower. Out of sight of the large dwelling, to the west of the track and set among boulders near to the cliff face, there is a small oval enclosure for young animals (Figs.4.6 and Fig. 4.7). The enclosure measures approximately 2 metres in diameter and is made by filling in spaces between very large natural boulders with rocks and stones of various sizes. The building style is crude.

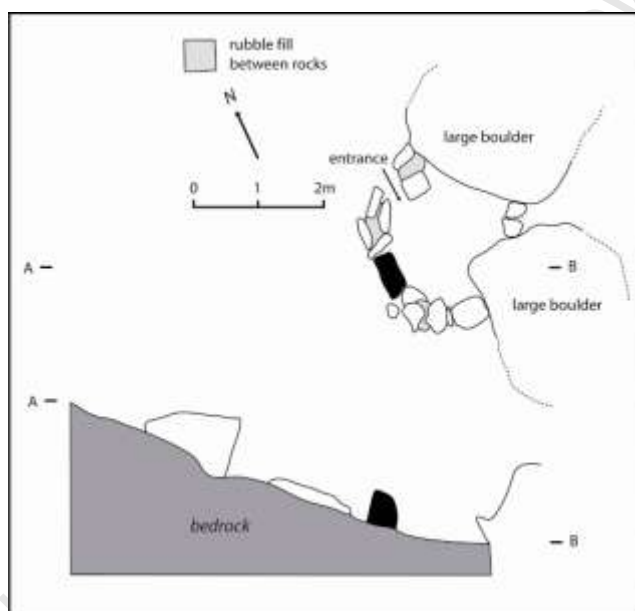


Fig. 4.6. Plan and profile of small stock enclosure.

Figure 4.7 shows the small stock enclosure viewed from the south. The south and west walls of the stable, which is located further along the path, can be seen in the top right corner of the picture.



Fig. 4.7. Small stock enclosure (Own photograph).

### *Stable*

A few metres further on to the north (Fig.4.1) the walls of a stable back up against the cliff (Fig.4.8). On its northern side, an enclosure, measuring approximately five by ten metres is demarcated with a row of stones that probably was the base for a pole and wire fence, suggesting a paddock, and this feature is part of the basis of the identification of the stable. The stable itself is almost square, measuring approximately eight by seven metres. Much of the walling, made of stones of a variety of shapes and sizes, is still standing up to two metres in height. Parts of the south wall and most of the east wall have collapsed outwards but the fallen rocks are still present.





Fig. 4.8. Stable from S-E (Own photograph).

The structure incorporates two large natural boulders into its north wall. The V-shaped space between them is carefully closed with stones of appropriate size and shape. Stones selected for their flatness neatly finish off the top of the wall, presumably for roof beams, though the form of the roof is unknown. The west wall stones are of irregular sizes and shapes. They are mortared with mud and plastered on the exterior. In the west wall there is a small window (400mm x 400mm) supported by a massive sill and lintel. Below this window, on the inside, there is a significant platform made of large stone blocks which stretches across the whole width of the structure. This striking feature strongly suggests that it supported a (wooden?) manger. The dimensions of the platform blocks are approximately 800mm x 300mm (Weightman 2002). They may have been robbed from the kraal near to the threshing floor, as some blocks of this length are found *in situ* in the east wall of that kraal.

### *Small dwelling*

Approximately, 320 metres in a straight line from the main house, or 390 metres by the path, the foundations of a small rectangular stone structure are located on a terrace overlooking the river to the east (Figs. 4.1 and 4.9). The river channel and flood plain is extremely wide adjacent to this structure and measures about 240 metres across.

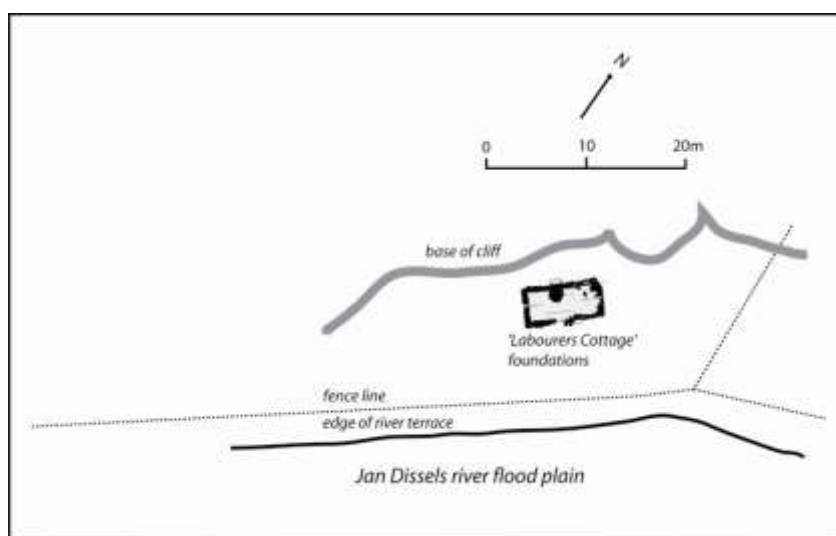


Fig. 4.9. Location of small dwelling.

Oral information (pers. comm. John Parkington) indicates that orchards were present in this area at the time the main house was occupied. The structure is almost directly backed up to the base of the cliff (Fig. 4.10). The foundations measure 3.5 x 7.5 metres. The walls have been dismantled and some of the stones have been placed along the base of the fence immediately to the east of the structure. The evidence for this is that a grindstone fragment found at the base of the fence fitted a fragment found on the interior floor of the structure (pers. comm. John Parkington).

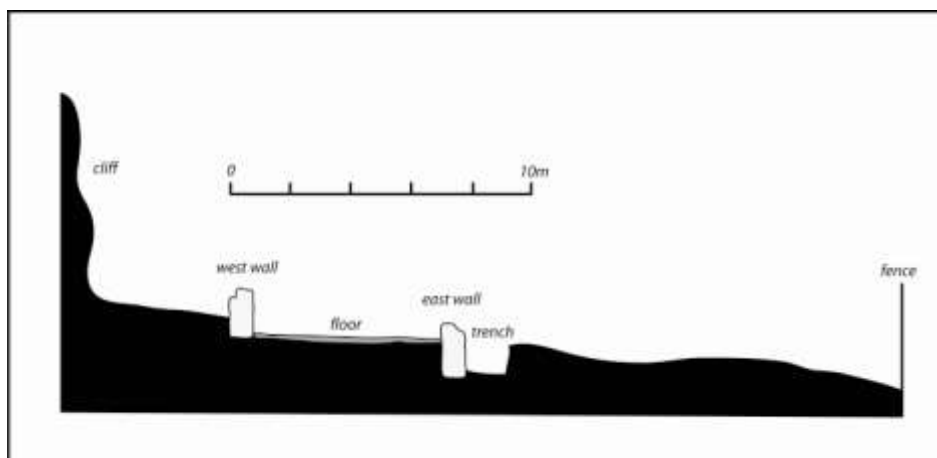


Fig. 4.10. Profile of cliff face and small dwelling excavation.

Based on the deposits excavated from its interior, which will be dealt with later, the structure has been identified as a dwelling. The plan and profile of this dwelling is shown below (Fig. 4.11) and is followed by an aerial view of the completed excavation taken from the cliff at the south west end of the structure (Fig. 4.12).

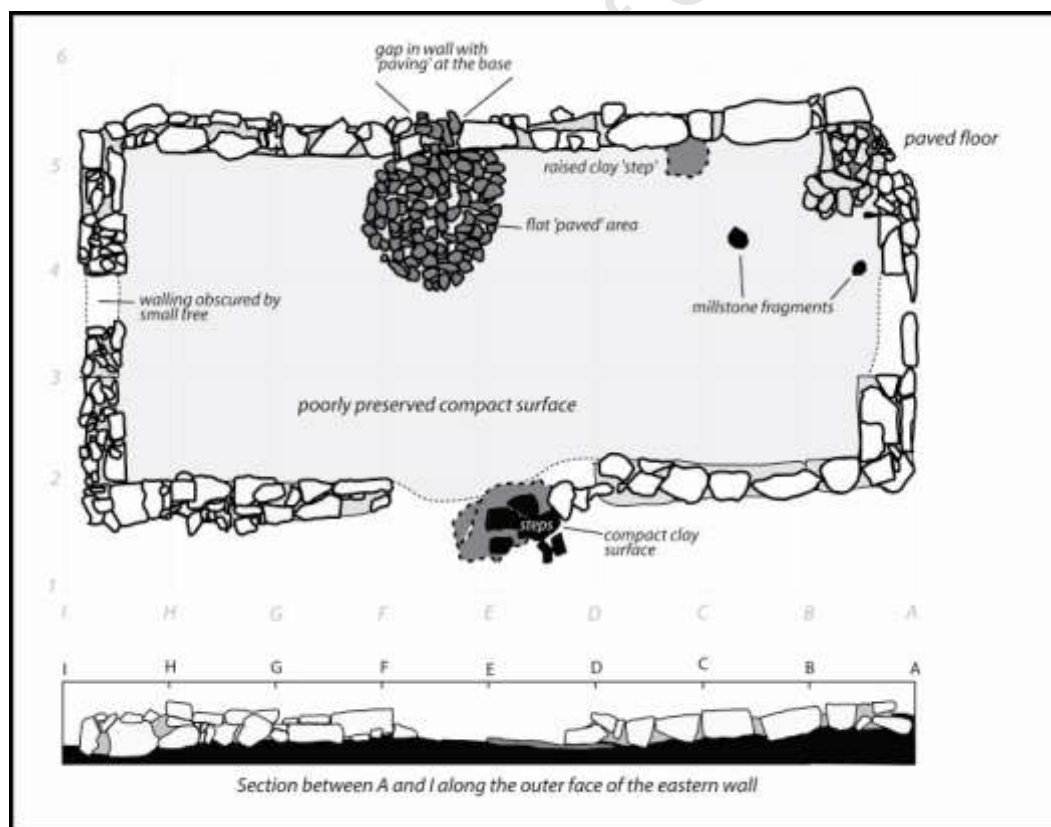


Fig. 4.11. Plan and profile of small dwelling.

The structure has three large cornerstones, except for the N-W corner (backing against the cliff) which has no cornerstone; instead, the corner is bevelled and has a small roughly paved area that could mark either a doorway or an internal feature (Fig. 4.13). There is an east-facing (front) entrance marked by a gap in the wall and stones, interpreted as steps, overlying a compact clay surface. The foundation walling method changes from double row stone walling in the southern half of the structure to single row walling in the northern half, beginning just north of the entrance. This applies to both the east and west walls. The double wall of the south section suggests a greater load-bearing function for these foundations compared to the function of the north section single wall foundation. This variation may mean that the two ends of the structure supported different superstructures.



Fig. 4.12. Small dwelling, completed excavation  
(Photo: J.E. Parkinson).

This variability in the walling has also been observed in the southern and northern sections of the kraal and also at the 'pig sty'. The significance of this similarity is not

clear. We have no evidence of the dimensions of the eastern door and wall openings or the appearance of the superstructure. We can only assume that the walls were made entirely of natural stone, as no other building material is present and, in particular, there is no brick of any kind. We do not know whether the roof was pitched or a monocline but we presume it had a thatched roof.



Fig. 4.13. Bevelled N-W corner of small dwelling  
(Photo: J.E. Parkinson).

Excavation exposed a compact clay flooring in parts of the interior and it is reasonable to assume that the floor was originally finished in this way throughout the building but that it has not preserved well. There is a prominent cobbled circular feature in the rear centre of the west (back) wall (Fig. 4.14). The cobble stones are all of a similar size and they may be more than one layer deep. There is a gap in the western wall adjacent to this cobbled surface and some of the cobbles may extend through this gap. Its function is therefore unknown.



Artefacts found inside the building were concentrated in squares A to E in the northern section (Fig. 4.11). In addition to ceramics, which will be dealt with in the next chapter, finds included grindstone and millstone fragments, tortoise bone and adiagnostic bone, ostrich egg shell, pecan nut shells , an iron pot lid and a significant quantity of poorly preserved iron.



Fig. 4.14. Cobbled feature of small dwelling  
(Photo: J.E. Parkinson).

Only 24 artefacts were found in squares F to I in the southern section (Fig. 4.11). Twelve of them were ceramic sherds. A button made of bone, another of metal, and the glass cover of a wrist watch face were found on the floor in this section of the building. While most of this material is in keeping with this structure being used as a domestic dwelling, the presence of the millstone fragments is perhaps anomalous in this regard. It may have been a multi-purpose structure related to farming activities.

Immediately to the east of this small dwelling, the ground slopes fairly steeply down to the river flood plain (Fig. 4.1). The narrow path in front of the structure continues in a north-easterly direction following the course of the Jan Dissels River which flows in a south-westerly direction. Approximately 190 metres from the small dwelling, on a terrace above a bend in the river, there is a rock shelter (Fig. 4.1) with fine line Bushman paintings. There are also historic paintings of men as well as the name 'Warmhoek' and the date: '1910' (Parkington 2002:24).

### *Main farmhouse*

The large main farmhouse (Figs. 4.15, 4.16, 4.17 and 4.18) is the most prominent structure on Platberg B. This is a significant building and, as a dwelling, is in sharp contrast to the small dwelling described above. It is a long structure orientated NW/SE at right angles across the narrowest part of the terrace. All four external walls are relatively well preserved and are made of stone up to roof height. At the eastern end of the house, an internal hearth and a chimney, much of which are still standing, are made of mud brick. At some time after the house was abandoned, the wooden window and door frames and the roof were removed, presumably to be used elsewhere. The remnants of gables at the east and west ends of the house indicate a pitched roof which may have been made of thatching reed or even corrugated iron.

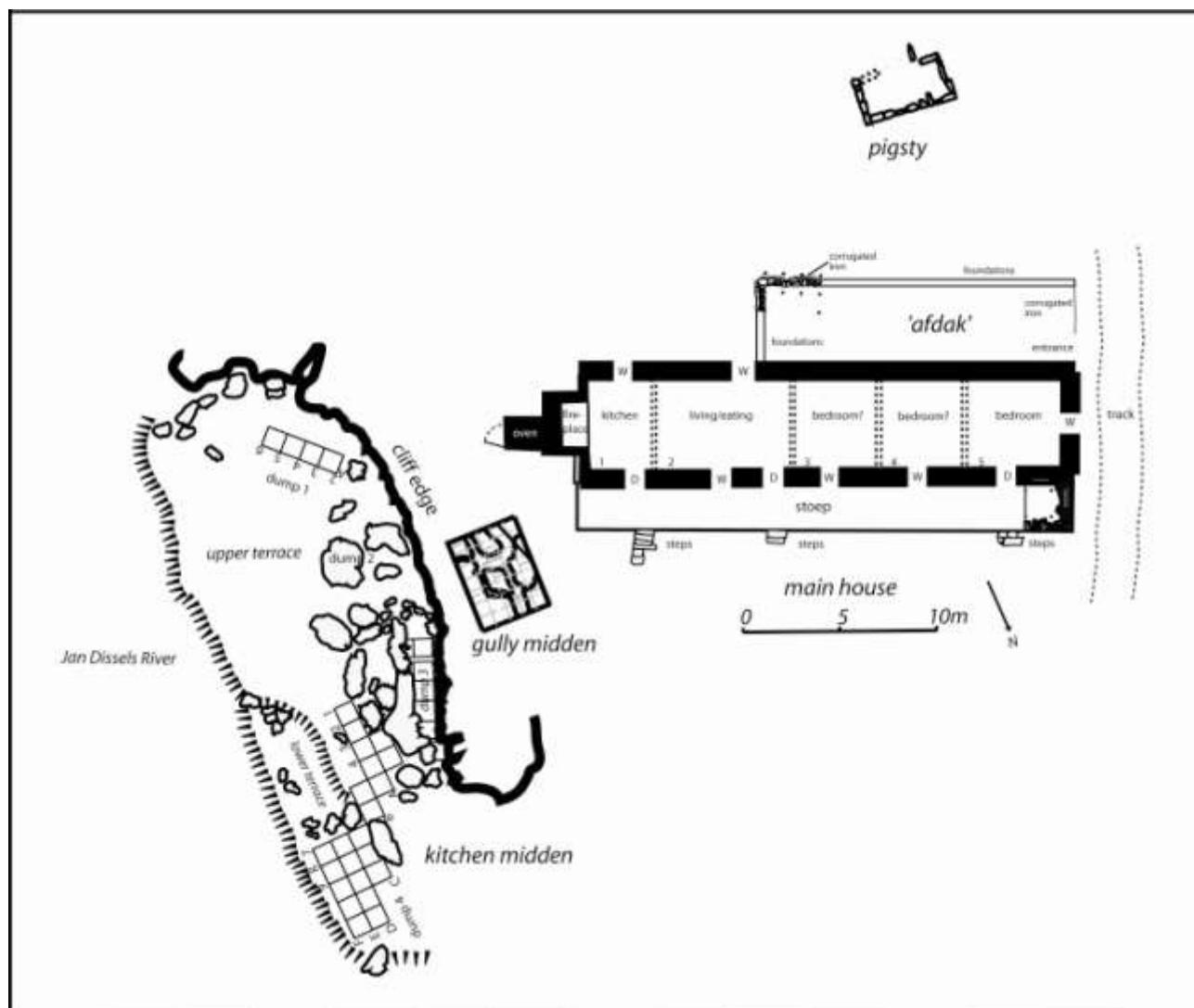


Fig. 4.15. Plan of main house precinct showing stoep, 'afdak', kitchen midden and 'pig sty'.

The profile shown in Fig. 4.16 shows the proximity of the west end of the main house to the cliff and the narrow track by which the farm features higher up on the terrace were accessed.



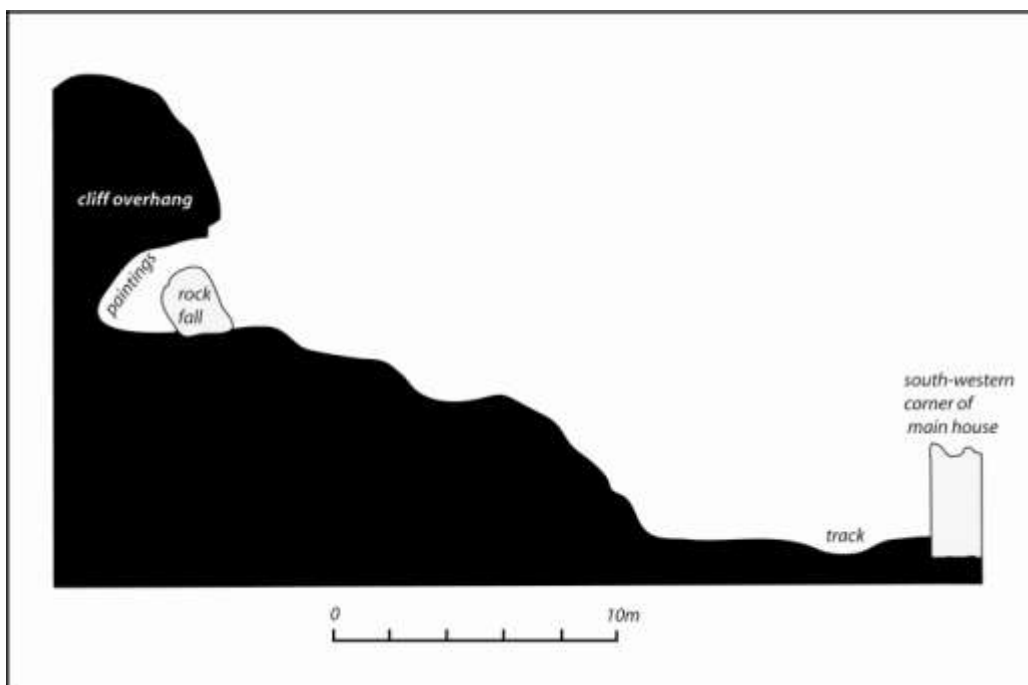


Fig. 4.16. Profile showing relationship between S-W end of the Main House and cliff overhang.

The photograph (Fig.4.17) was taken from the cliff (Fig.4.16) and shows the proximity of the east end of the house to the Jan Dissels River.



Fig. 4.17 View of main house from the west (Photo: J.E. Parkinson).

On the basis of the three door openings, the front of the house (Fig. 4.18) faces north and commands a view up the gorge to the bend where the river comes down from the Jan Dissels valley, which lies north-east of Warmhoek.

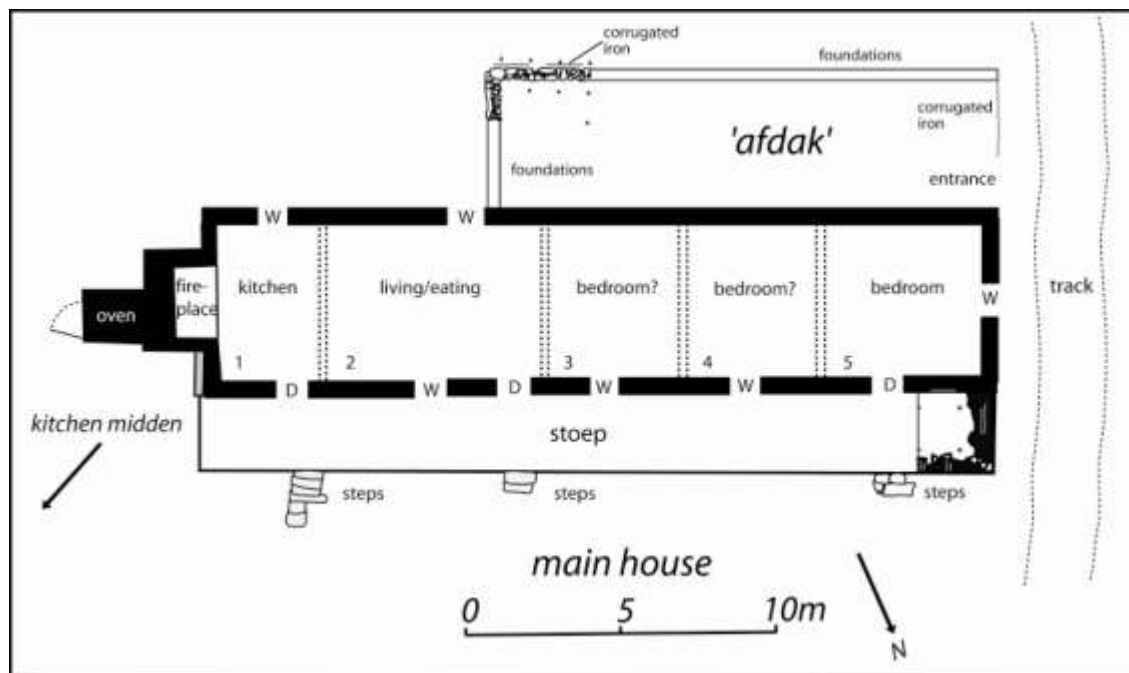


Fig. 4.18. Plan of main house.

The interior of the building is 20.7 metres long by 4.18 metres wide<sup>8</sup> and its external appearance is in the style of a longhouse. However, the building method is consistent throughout and there are no obvious changes that suggest that rooms were built on in an additive way. There are a number of formal regularities which suggest that the entire house was built at the same time as a single construction event.

Stone blocks were chosen for their regularity of shape and size and were laid in even, regular courses. The exterior and interior finish of the stonework is extremely well done. The corners are of large regularly shaped blocks. A lower levelling line (Fig. 4.19) of

<sup>8</sup> Measurements of the Warmhoek house are taken from Paterson 2002, Field School Project and have been converted from Cape feet to metres.

small flat stones is visible at approximately 600mm above the interior floor surface.



Fig. 4.19. Main house south wall showing lower and upper levelling lines (Photograph, J. E. Parkington).

This line runs all around the house and marks the base height for the window sills all round. These include two windows in the south wall, a single window in the west wall and three windows in the front north-facing wall. There is a second levelling line, also made of small, flat stones at two metres above the floor level (Fig. 4.19). This line is at rafter height. The interior walls were finished with plaster and a white or blue wash. A raised stone stoep runs the full length of the house on the northern side of the house.

The stoep was accessed by three sets of steps each of which is in line with the three

external door openings (Fig. 4.18). These doors gave access to the eastern end kitchen, a central room and a room at the west end of the house. This suggests that the house had a minimum of three rooms. There are three window piercings in the north front façade and one window piercing in the west wall. On the south-facing exterior of the house there are two window piercings towards the eastern end of the house. All piercings are approximately 850mm wide and this implies that ready-made joinery was used for the frames (Report: site visit 3 July 1999). The height of the windows could not be determined as the stones which held the lintels are missing.

Despite the fact that the three front doorways suggest three rooms, the internal structure of the house is, however, more complex than this. Two features inside the house suggest that there were in fact five rooms. Firstly, there are four discernable and discrete rubble mounds. Surface inspection and excavation in the far western room show that these mounds are the remains of sun-dried mud bricks. These were internal dividing walls which have collapsed (Report: site visit: 3 July 1999). The second feature is the identification of the points at which these mud brick dividing walls abutted the north wall. These can be seen because of the absence of plaster in narrow strips running vertically down the stone wall. This evidence shows where the internal curtain walls were placed, making it possible to measure the dimensions of the five rooms thus created (pers. comm. Simon Hall). These exposed strips of walling indicate that the location of the curtain walls had apparently been decided on, and that they had been built, before the interior was plastered.

The kitchen is at the east end of the house (Fig. 4.18) and is entered via a doorway off the stoep. It is 4.18 metres wide, which is the internal width of the rooms of the house throughout, and it is 3.17 metres long if one excludes the oven which increases the length to 3.96 metres. Its area is 13.25 square metres (oven excluded) or 16.5 square

metres (oven included). It has a window piercing in its south wall. There is an external oven in the east wall with a metal door that seals the front of the oven. There is an exposed unplastered strip immediately on the right side as one enters the kitchen (Room 1) from the stoep. This is where the dividing wall abutted the stone wall.

The central steps of the Warmhoek stoep lead to a second doorway which gives access to the next room, Room 2, west of the kitchen. This room is 5.67 metres long and its area is 23.7 square metres. It is the largest room in the house. It has a north-facing window positioned to the east of this doorway and it also has a south-facing window. Once again, there is an exposed plasterless strip immediately to the right of this doorway that indicates the position of a second dividing wall. With its three openings, it received the most natural light and it may have been a living area. It is not yet known if there was interleading access to the kitchen from this room.

To the west of this large room there are two smaller rooms, Rooms 3 and Room 4. (Fig.4.18). Room 3 is 3.5 metres long (area: 14.63 square metres) and Room 4 is 3.2 metres long (area: 13.5 square metres). Each of these rooms has one window in the north, front wall, but no external doorways. The north-facing windows are located between the central external door and the western-most external door and again, there is evidence of a curtain wall abutting the north wall between them. How these two rooms were accessed and how they were used cannot be ascertained without excavation. Access to Room 3 may have been from the large 'living' room to the east, but without excavation, there is no evidence for this. Equally, Room 4 may have been entered from the east or from the most westerly room in the house.

The most westerly steps lead to the doorway of Room 5 which is 4.18 metres long (area: 18.7 square metres). It has a west-facing window. At the threshold, the floor

was of stone paving and the remainder was a particularly well-made polished dung floor. The room may have served as the main bedroom (pers. comm. Simon Hall).

In summary, we can suggest, with varying confidence, the function of each room:

Room 1 Kitchen

Room 2 Living / Eating

Room 3 Bedroom ?

Room 4 Bedroom ?

Room 5 Main bedroom

The unequivocal inference to be drawn from the above technical data is that the farmhouse was pre-planned as a five-roomed dwelling, and that it was also completed in a single building event.

A small exploratory excavation has been conducted inside Room 5 and on the western end of the stoep outside Room 5 (Fig. 4.20). The rest of the house remains to be excavated. The purpose of these excavations was, firstly, to expose a section of the inside floor and gain a preliminary impression as to what artefacts are associated with it. The second aim was to expose the surface of the stoep. A single grid was used by extending line E from the stoep, through the most westernmost doorway and into Room 5 (Fig. 4.20).

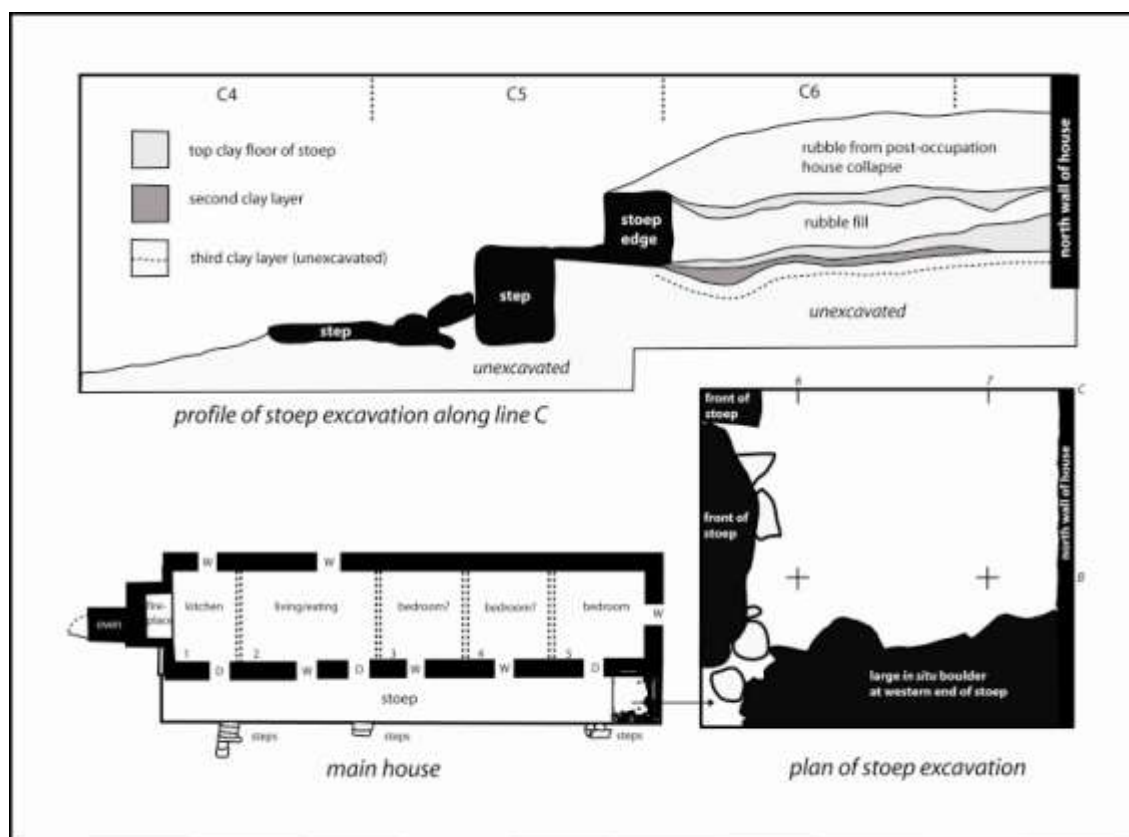


Fig. 4.20. Plan and profile of excavation of main house stoep.

The excavation inside Room 5 focused on the most western section of the room. This was because the curtain wall separating Room 5 from Room 4 had collapsed into the eastern half of Room 5, covering the floor with a 0.70 metre thick mound of mud brick and stone rubble. Excavation exposed an extremely well preserved and polished dung (and possibly ox blood) floor that was a deep red in colour. As might be expected, very little cultural material was found. The doorway step was raised about 0.05 metres above the stoep surface. A section of stone flagging had been laid across the door step and this extended for 0.2 metres on the inside of the door. The surface of this flagging is at the same level as the dung floor.

A significant amount of rubble had also collapsed onto the western end of the stoep. It is likely that most of this collapse comes from the upper section of the door frame, the

wall above it and the western gable. Most of this collapse was caused by removing the doorframe and the roof beams. Removal of this rubble mound exposed a flat clay floor. The surface of this floor is at the same level as the top surface of the front retaining wall of the stoep and formed the walking surface of the stoep. This wall had been built to a height of 0.40 metres (as measured from the exposed northern side of this wall) above the ground surface. The exposed surface of the stoep therefore capped a considerable amount of infill behind (south of) the front stoep retaining wall. This infill served to raise the height and was then levelled off in order to provide the platform upon which the floor of the house was laid. While the front wall now serves to define the northern edge of the stoep, it was originally the front section of this larger platform. The base of the northern wall of the house, however, is on the natural ground surface some 0.4 metres below the top of the stoep. The house therefore could have been built first and then the stoep added later. For reasons outlined in the previous chapter, it is felt, however, that the stoep/levelling platform and the house were constructed as a single building event. The stoep is on average between 1.5 metres and 1.7 metres wide.

Excavations were done below the top surface of the stoep in order to investigate the structure of the platform infill. This was stratigraphically interesting (Fig. 4.20). Below the top clay floor there is a layer of stone and gravel rubble. This rubble layer is 0.20 metres thick where it abuts the stoep retaining wall but tapers back to a thickness of 0.10 metres where it abuts the northern surface of the front house wall. Below this rubble fill is a second clay surface that is 0.10 metres thick where it abuts the house wall but tapers towards the front (north) and lenses out completely just before the retaining wall. Below this is a thin lens of ash and charcoal with an average thickness of 0.03 metres. Finally a third clay floor, 0.05 metre thick, was found. At this point



excavation was stopped so it is not known what lies below. Extrapolation from the outside height of the steep wall indicates that the third clay surface maybe about 0.10m above the original surface and may indeed be lying on it.

The steep fill section shows that it was not built up as a single layer. Whether the successive clay layers signify earlier surfaces or whether they were a structurally necessary part of building up the platform is not clear. There are no artefacts within the fill that indicate earlier use prior to the construction of the house. On the basis of the documents, it is more probable that the fill was part of a single building event. This is in keeping with the nature of the house, as a planned one-off construction.

#### *'Afdak'*

The foundations of an 'afdak'<sup>9</sup> (Fig. 4.18) abut the south wall of the farmhouse. This structure is approximately 13m long and 5m wide with the long axis parallel to the south wall of the house. The foundations are approximately 400mm wide and were excavated from the surface to a depth of approximately 40cm to determine their method of construction (Fig. 4.21). In some sections, the foundations are made of single large rocks and in others they are made with two parallel rows. The stones are irregular in size and shape, ranging from small stones for infill to a massive slab almost three metres long which provides most of the foundation for the east wall. The foundations appear to be consistently built for strength and durability but whether these foundations were to support a stone wall is unclear. There is no obvious evidence of marking or staining on the outside of the southern wall of the main house above where the 'afdak' foundations abut this wall. Furthermore, the excavation

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<sup>9</sup> This colloquial term refers to a 'lean to' type of structure and is used here as a convenient label, not as statement of the nature of the structure.

identified four, or possibly 5, substantial post-hole sockets in the stone foundation wall. These had been built into the foundations and positioned on the exterior part of the wall and were therefore integral to the 'afdak' construction. These post holes suggest that they supported that part of the framework of the 'afdak' that was not built of stone. Some evidence for this comes from the western end of the 'afdak'. While the southern and eastern foundations are both built in stone, the western end of the 'afdak' is different. From the south-western corner the remnants (base) of vertically placed corrugated iron sheets were exposed. These run for 2 metres.

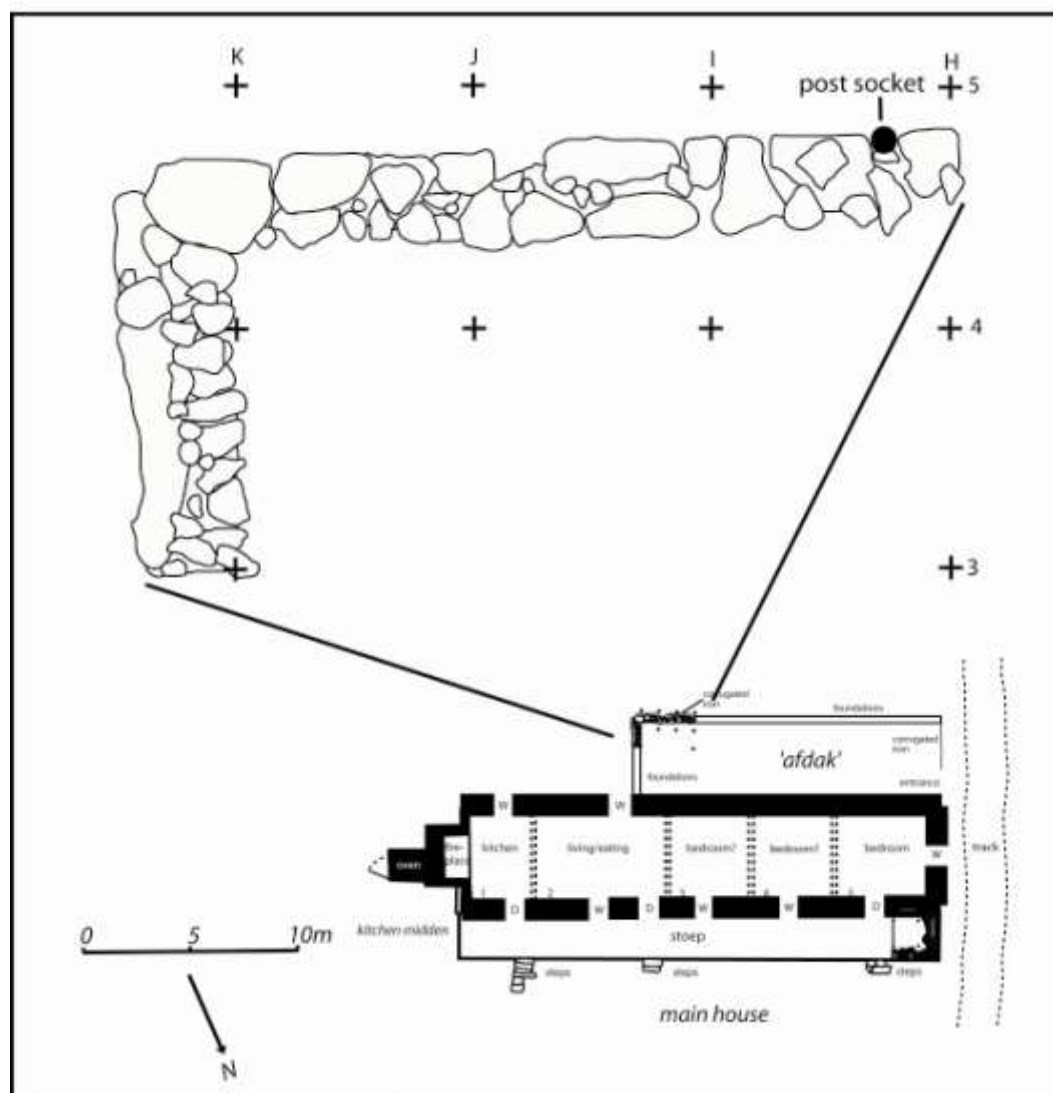


Fig. 4.21. Afdak, detail of foundation walling.

Behind these sheets (on the inside of the structure) the remains of a compact clay floor are preserved. From the northern end of the corrugated iron to the main house wall there is no evidence of a foundation or wall of any kind and therefore this was the entrance into the 'afdak'. It is 2 metres wide. The exterior of this entrance may have been cobbled.

Other corrugated iron sheets were also found on the outside of the 'afdak' foundations at the eastern end of the southern wall. These sheets had been inserted into the ground down along the face of the wall. One sheet was still intact to a height of 0.3 metre above the top of the foundation wall. Unlike the corrugated iron at the western end of the 'afdak', these sheets seemed to be informal additions. They probably did not go higher because the corrugations are orientated horizontally, unlike the structurally more sound vertical orientation of the corrugations at the western end of the 'afdak'. The east and west walls of the 'afdak' are not tied in to the foundations of the house and this indicates that it was built later than the main house (Fig. 4.22).



Fig. 4.22. Afdak east wall foundation abutment to main house south wall.

However, there is evidence that it was planned before the construction began on the house. Firstly, the eastern wall of the 'afdak' abuts the southern wall of the house immediately to the west of the window in Room 2. Furthermore, from this point, the 'afdak' extends westwards parallel with the remainder of the southern wall of the house, i.e. for the remainder of Room 2 and the whole of Rooms 3,4, and 5. It is significant that there are no windows for these rooms on the southern wall and no evidence that previous windows had subsequently been filled in. The inference is that no windows were ever placed on this section of the southern wall of the house because the intention was to build the 'afdak' as a structure integral to the main building event and not as a later addition.

The 'afdak' may have functioned as a wagon shed. This is suggested by the width of the west entrance. Also there are three waist-high rectangular slots in the interior back wall of the 'afdak' which may have held beams to support a workbench. If this is correct, then this structure would have also functioned as a workshop. This suggests that it would have been practical to build the 'afdak' soon after the completion of the house, and therefore, the two buildings can be considered as contemporaneous.

#### Comparison of building methods

These observations allow for some comparison of the building methods of the various farm yard structures. There may be some indications as to whether all the structures were contemporaneous, and if not, to identify what the sequence of building and use may have been. In this regard, the two dwellings are of particular interest. I will first deal briefly with the agrarian structures.

The threshing floor slabs suggest that it is largely in its original state. The building style is very specific to the function of the threshing floor and there are no similarities with the other farm structures.

Stones of varying sizes and shapes were used for the kraal, stock pen and stable which all incorporate natural features into their walling. The foundation walls of the kraal and the 'pig sty' have sections which are made of single stone rows and sections of double stone rows with infill. The differences in walling style may indicate sequential building episodes from simple to more complex undertaken in response to changing needs. On the other hand, the informality of the styles may in itself indicate roughly contemporaneous building by the same builders.

The kraal has lost much of its upper walling and only the foundations of the 'pig sty' remain. The 'pig sty' foundations may in fact only have supported a lighter super structure and may have been similar to the 'afdak' in this regard. Alternatively, the stone was robbed for other purposes and this may imply that these structures have an early date. In contrast, the stable ruin has enough stone lying about to suggest natural collapse and that it was not robbed. This may mean that the stable remained in use after other agrarian structures had fallen into disuse or that it was contemporary with the farmhouse, and built for the cart horses. I suggest, based on the general similarities of building methods of the agrarian structures, that they are contemporary with each other. Moreover, together they would constitute the essential features of a working farmyard where the main activities are the care of small stock and the processing of wheat.

The farmhouse is in the best state of preservation, despite the absence of its roof and its door and window fittings. As shown above, it exhibits formality in its conception

and in its construction method, indicating that it was erected as a single building event. In that case, Dirk van Zyl as the probable builder of the farmhouse had sufficient funds available to meet the costs of building and materials at short notice. Although the construction of the 'afdak' post dates that of the house, there is evidence that it was planned as part of it and the two structures can be regarded as a single contemporaneous entity.

## Discussion

The presence of two dwellings poses questions as to whether they were contemporaneous. As building materials such as brick, nails and corrugated iron, which are in evidence at the farmhouse, are absent from the small dwelling, Cedric Poggenpoel has suggested<sup>10</sup> that this indicates that the small house was already standing when the farmhouse was built and that they were, therefore, not contemporaneous building events. Also, the foundations of the small dwelling have features in common with the large kraal and the 'pig sty' (sections of single rows of stone and of double rows with infill). Furthermore, features and material finds inside the small house suggest that it was informally divided into two areas, the northern one of which may have served as a food preparation area and the southern as a bedroom. If this is true, then the small dwelling is reminiscent of the earliest Cape house forms in which single roomed dwellings with a hearth at one end were divided into two by a curtain which might later be replaced by a wall (Brink 2008:49). I therefore suggest that the small cottage is contemporaneous with the agrarian structures and that it was used as a dwelling by workers who were using and managing these structures.

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<sup>10</sup> Pers. comm. John Parkington 2006

Consequently, the small dwelling and probably the agrarian structures pre-date the main farmhouse and its 'afdak'.

This interpretation is supported by the position the farmhouse occupies on the terrace where it extends across the width of the lower end of the terrace. At its east end it is close to the rock ledge that overlooks the Jan Dissels River, and, at its west end, it is close to the track passing between it and the base of the cliff. This suggests that its location on this spot paid respect to the agrarian structures which were already present higher up the terrace to the south.

The documents also support such an interpretation. We know that Ben Foster, who held the Crown Lease on Lot 1320, is unlikely to have lived there and that it is more likely that from 1873 onwards he and family members oversaw the development of the farm and employed labourers, some of whom may have lived on the property. We know too that Foster sub-let Lot 1320 from 1889 onwards and I have argued that this implies a degree of successful farming activity in the 1880s because the sub-tenants, September and Titus, who may have been former employees, were unlikely to lease land whose productivity had not been proven. I suggest, therefore, that the threshing floor, kraal, stock pen, and small dwelling on the path upstream from the main house, were constructed during the mid-1870s and in the 1880s in the process of establishing a fully functional farmyard and that the main farmhouse was built after 1896 when Dirk van Zyl owned Platberg B.

I have argued that Dirk van Zyl never occupied the house on Platberg B but that its occupants may well have been members of the Van Zyl or Nieuwoudt (extended) families. The question now arises as to why the longhouse floor plan, a typical form of

West Coast vernacular architecture, was adopted for the Warmhoek farmhouse. It is apparent from the foregoing that the house is not a longhouse in the sense of the Sandveld tradition where simple one- or two-roomed dwellings were enlarged in an additive fashion in response to changing needs. The Warmhoek farmhouse with its adjacent rooms arranged on a single axis may resemble a longhouse but the consistencies in its building methods speak of a formal plan carried out within a short space of time and designed to meet current and future needs with no add-on rooms anticipated. For this reason, the house is ambiguous. It combines a vernacular type with a 'modern' building concept.

#### A Comparison of Warmhoek farmhouse with three neighbouring farmhouses

In order to put these ideas about the nature of the Warmhoek main house into a wider perspective, I compare and discuss Warmhoek with the nearby Holland se Bos and Middel Kraal houses<sup>11</sup> on farms on Jan Dissels River Lot 270 situated below Klein- and Middel Krakadoupiek, and with a photograph of the Van Zyl homestead on Augsburg taken in approximately 1920.

##### *Holland se Bos*

Holland se Bos was located on Middelvlei farm (Fig.2.1). This farm may be the portion measuring 2345 morgen 383 square roods acquired by Margaretha Johanna Nieuwoudt who married Willem Sterrenberg Visser in 1873. I photographed the house (Fig. 4.23), made a freehand sketch of the interior floor plan (Viljoen 2002) and subsequently

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<sup>11</sup> They were surveyed during the 2002 UCT Field School. The following data are taken from my field notes and Field School Project (Viljoen 2002) and from a plan of unknown authorship.



visited Mrs. Marie Visser (Mrs. Marie Visser. Interview. 5 July 2002). Mrs. Visser is the widow of Willem Sterrenberg Visser whose parents were still living at Holland se Bos in the 1960s. She came to live at Holland se Bos in a new house when she married in 1960 and lived there until 1993. Mrs. Visser was able to provide information about the house, which she knew well. By 2002 the house had already been robbed of its roof and ceiling timbers although window and door frames were still in place. The ruin was illegally demolished in approximately 2005.

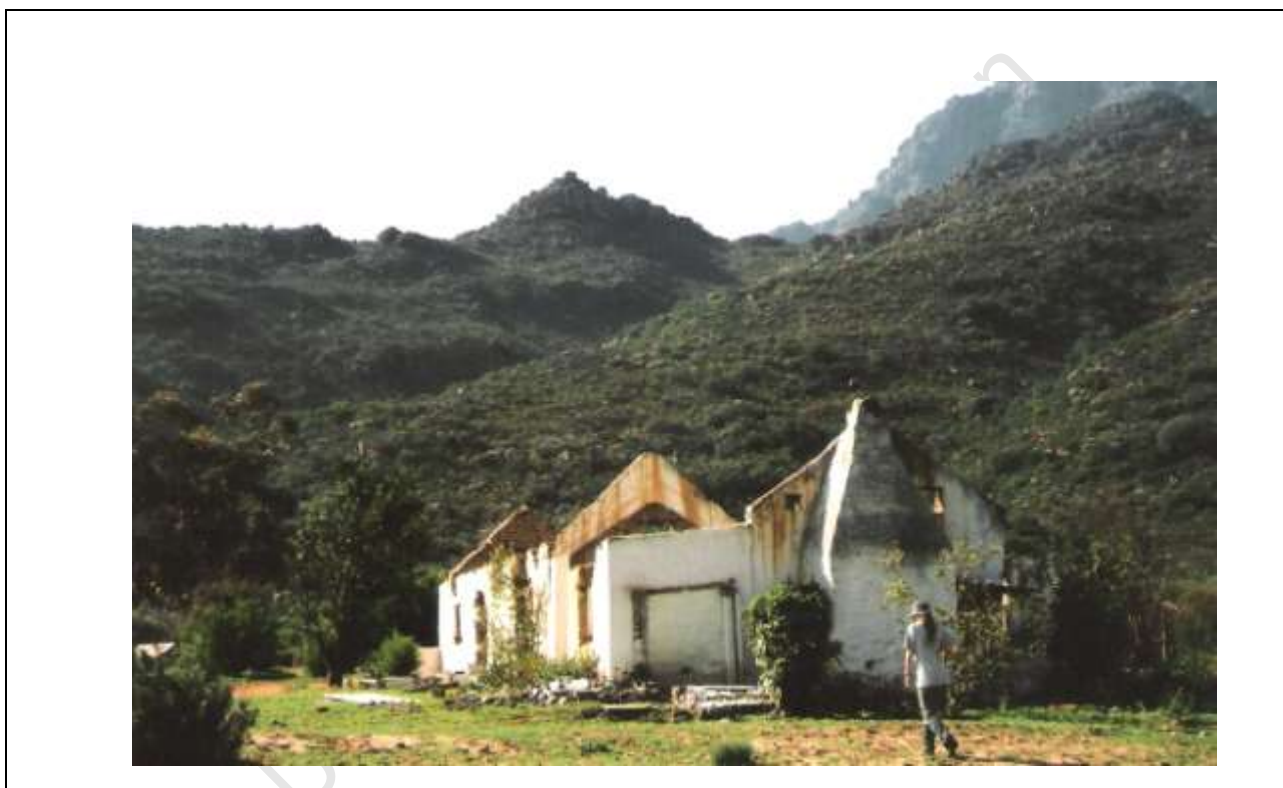


Fig. 4.23 Holland se Bos in July 2002 (Own photograph).

No threshing floor, kraal or barn is obvious at Holland se Bos. Mrs. Visser indicated that Middel Kraal, which will be discussed later in this chapter, was used for the threshing of rye by donkeys and that Rooi Afrikaner cattle were kept in the kraal there. Tobacco was grown and there were orange groves. Mrs. Visser helped me to complete my floor plan of the Holland se Bos house by identifying the room functions and supplying other details.

Holland se Bos faced north-west and was built on an 'I' axis (Fig. 4.24).

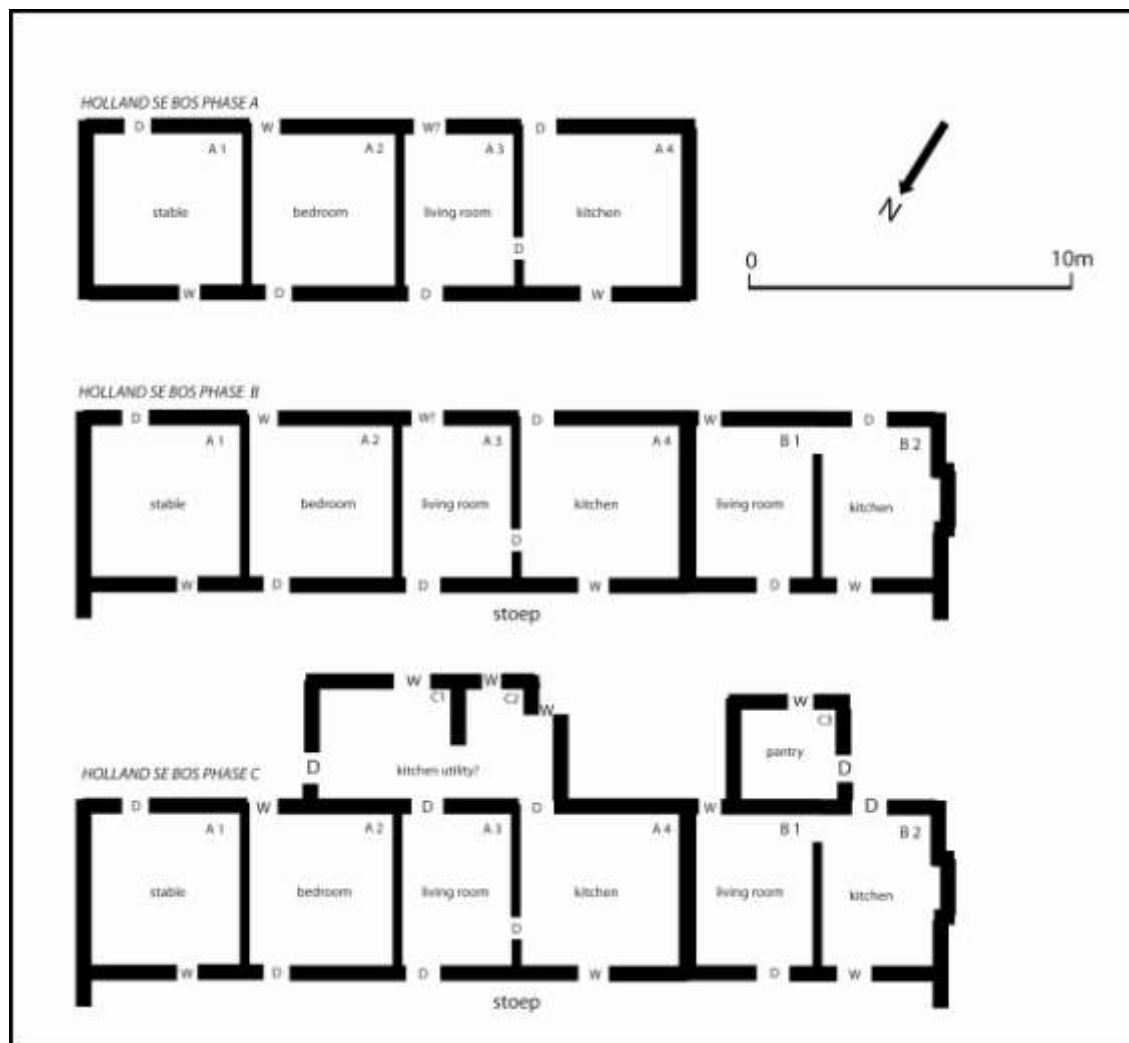


Fig. 4.24. Plans of Holland se Bos showing three phases of development.

In 2002 the ruin had an eastern gable with a door opening into a loft, a central gable, also with a large opening, and a western gable with two small openings into it on either side of an external chimney. The loft was accessed via a ladder which was still in place. The roof and its timbers, the ceilings, the windows and the doors and all their frames were missing. The house was fully plastered and painted white, both inside and outside. There were nine rooms. From east to west, the room functions were: Room

A1 stable, Room A2 bedroom, Room A3 living room, Room A4 kitchen, Room B1 living room, Room B2 kitchen. At the back (south-east façade) from east to west, the functions of additional rooms may have been: C1 utility, C2 utility and C3 pantry. It is not known in what sequence these three rooms were added.

Mrs. Visser informed me that Rooms A1–A4 formed the original house which was made of stone (Phase A). Room A1, the stable, was under the main roof of the house. It was accessed via an outside door (wide enough for a horse) in the south-east wall (back of the house). A post and a manger were still in situ in 2002. Room A2 was a bedroom with yellowwood beams and ceiling. It had an external door facing north-west (front of the house) and a window facing south east (back). It was twice the size of the next room, Room A3, the sitting room, which was the smallest room in the original house; its length was less than its width. It had a cedarwood ceiling, an external doorway facing north-west (front) and an opening facing south-east (back), which will be commented on below. Room A4, the kitchen, was accessed via the living room and was approximately twice its size. The original hearth was later converted to other uses.

All the other rooms are later additions. Rooms B1 and B2 (Phase B) were on the same axis as Rooms A1–4. Room B1 was a living room with an external door facing north-west (front) and a window facing south-east (back). It had an interleading doorway into Room B2 which was a kitchen with a north-west facing window (front) and a south-east facing external door (back) and a hearth and external chimney in the west wall.

The final additions (Phase C), all with monocline sloping roof suggested by their sloping side walls, abutted the south-east back wall of the extended 'I' axis structure.

Rooms C1 and C2 straddled the back of Rooms A2, A3 and A4. Room C1 had an external doorway in its east wall and a window in its south wall. It was separated from the adjoining Room C2 by a shortened curtain wall which extended from the south-east wall inwards, leaving an interleading passageway between the two rooms and giving both rooms access into Room A3, the original living room, via a doorway. This door into Room A3 was positioned in the 'opening' in the east wall of A3 referred to earlier. This opening may have originally been a window piercing which was enlarged and converted to a doorway when Rooms C1 and C2 were added. Room C2 had two very small windows in a peculiar recess at its south-west corner. In its north-west corner, Room C2 had a connecting doorway into Room A4, the original kitchen. Room C3 had a window in its south wall and in its west wall it had an external door adjacent at a right angle to the external back door of Room B2 (kitchen) – a metre apart. Internally, Room C3 was fitted with a cupboard with four shelves and additional shelves on either side. It could have been a pantry.

Holland se Bos was thus an example of the vernacular 'organic' longhouse based on two counts. The first is that the stable was included as part of the earlier phase of the house, and the second is based on the continuing additions to the house over time. This shows that the practice of adding on rooms continued into the twentieth century. According to Mrs. Visser, the 'double' dwelling was occupied by two contemporaneous generations in the twentieth century. The older part of the house may in fact have accommodated four generations of Vissers in all between 1873 and the 1960s.

In common with Holland se Bos, Warmhoek had a kitchen and an adjacent living room. At Holland se Bos, in both the old and the new sections, the living rooms were interleading with the kitchen and this suggests that this may also have been the case at

Warmhoek. In all three cases, the kitchens had an external door. At Warmhoek this was in the front façade but at Holland se Bos, the external doors of both kitchens were at the back of the house.

In its final stage, Holland se Bos had nine adjoining rooms, one of which was a stable. There was only one bedroom in the old stone house and there is no obvious second bedroom in the extended house; Rooms C1 and C2 may have been used as bedrooms. Warmhoek had five rooms of which three may have been bedrooms. During its history, Holland se Bos had two kitchens. In the old house, the kitchen was double the size of the living room, which was particularly small, whereas the additional living room and kitchen at Holland se Bos were both spacious.

At Holland se Bos the original living room, Room A3 (Fig. 4.24), was the smallest room in the house. At Warmhoek, however, the smallest room is the kitchen and the living room is the most spacious. A comparison of the relative sizes of rooms of Sandveld houses on the west coast plains found that there are 'norms', specifically regarding the size of rooms in relation to the size of the 'voorkamer' (living room) (Paterson 2002:15). Paterson noted that Sandveld longhouse kitchens tend to be smaller than their living rooms and that the Warmhoek kitchen is also small in relation to its living room (Paterson 2002:16). However, Paterson found that, at Warmhoek, these ratios are at the bottom of the range of variability recorded in the Sandveld region (Paterson 2002:20) for these two rooms. In other words, the Warmhoek kitchen is exceptionally small compared to kitchens in the Sandveld longhouses. In contrast, the Holland se Bos kitchens were either larger than or equal in size to their living rooms. This suggests that at Holland se Bos family activity was centred in the kitchen in the original house, and perhaps equally in the kitchen and the living room in the extended house.

In contrast, the small size of the Warmhoek kitchen appears anomalous in the Jan Dissels valley. The size indicates that it served no purpose other than food preparation and suggests that, at Warmhoek, family life was centred in the much larger living room.

An additional contrast between Holland se Bos and Warmhoek is the location of the stables on these properties. Mrs. Visser commented that owners of the original house at Holland se Bos had kept good horses. The stable was identified by the presence of a manger and a (hitching) post and it was located at the end of the house, under the same roof, and shared a common wall with the bedroom. These animals were therefore intimately associated with the living space of the occupants of the house. This practice has also been suggested for the original (early 18<sup>th</sup> century) house at Meerlust, Stellenbosch, which may have been a barn-like structure, similar to the peasant houses of Europe, with living quarters at one end and stables at the other (P. Brooke Simon in Brink 2008:47). The Holland se Bos original house plan therefore follows an early practice in Cape rural dwelling.

In summary, the plans of the Holland se Bos and Warmhoek houses suggest different social emphases. At Holland se Bos family activities were most likely closely associated with food preparation in the relatively large kitchens, and valued animals were kept in close proximity to the family living area. At Warmhoek, the small kitchen would have been appropriate mainly for food preparation and storage, and would not have comfortably accommodated the serving of meals, which were most likely taken separately in the living room. At Warmhoek, the agrarian context of the farmyard was separated from the domestic context as indicated by the fact that the stable was distant from and out of sight of the farmhouse. In keeping with these differences, the concepts underlying the methods of construction of the two dwellings were also

diametrically opposed. Holland se Bos developed in an organic fashion with a sequence of construction responding to changing needs over time but Warmhoek was in a sense a modern, purpose built house, methodically constructed according to a pre-conceived plan.

### *Middel Kraal*

I now turn to Middel Kraal which, documents suggest, may date from approximately 1840. Middel Kraal is located on the east (inner) bank of the Jan Dissels River. The farm yard is approached from the north and is generally heavily overgrown with shrubbery and stands of tall eucalyptus trees, branches of which have fallen on to walls and into the interior of the structures. The first structure one encounters is the threshing floor which is relatively clear of encroaching bush. It is located approximately one hundred metres north-east of the house on the east side of the current approach track from Clanwilliam.

As one approaches the house, there is a line of oak trees on a NNE axis which may mark the original entrance to the farm yard because a wooden gatepost is evident near to one of these trees. To the west, prickly pear plants are evident and these are said to mark the location of a cattle kraal, but no walling is evident. Adjacent fields to the west are terraced down to the river. The house and a separate barn are orientated approximately on a north-south axis. The barn is located approximately 20 metres south-west of the house. The layout of the Middel Kraal farm buildings is thus roughly linear, approximately 60 metres from the bank of the river and this is similar to the Warmhoek layout but in reverse. Warmhoek, however, has no free standing barn. At Warmhoek, from the north, one would first encounter the small labourers' cottage, then the stable, then the main farmhouse, then the kraal and finally the threshing floor.

The five-roomed Middel Kraal dwelling is approximately 18 metres long (Fig. 4.25). It is surrounded by dense vegetation which also grows in the interior of the structure and there is a termite mound against the middle section of the east wall. The five rooms of the Middel Kraal house are adjacent on the same N-S 'I' axis, in the form of a longhouse. The front of the house faces west, towards the river. The walls are of stone topped with a course of mud brick. At the south end of the house, the walls are well preserved up to roof height, approximately two metres, and window and door openings are well defined. However, at the north end, preservation is poor and much of the walling has collapsed, particularly in the middle of the east wall. There is still some walling at the north-east corner and on the north-west façade. The vegetation is particularly dense in the north section.

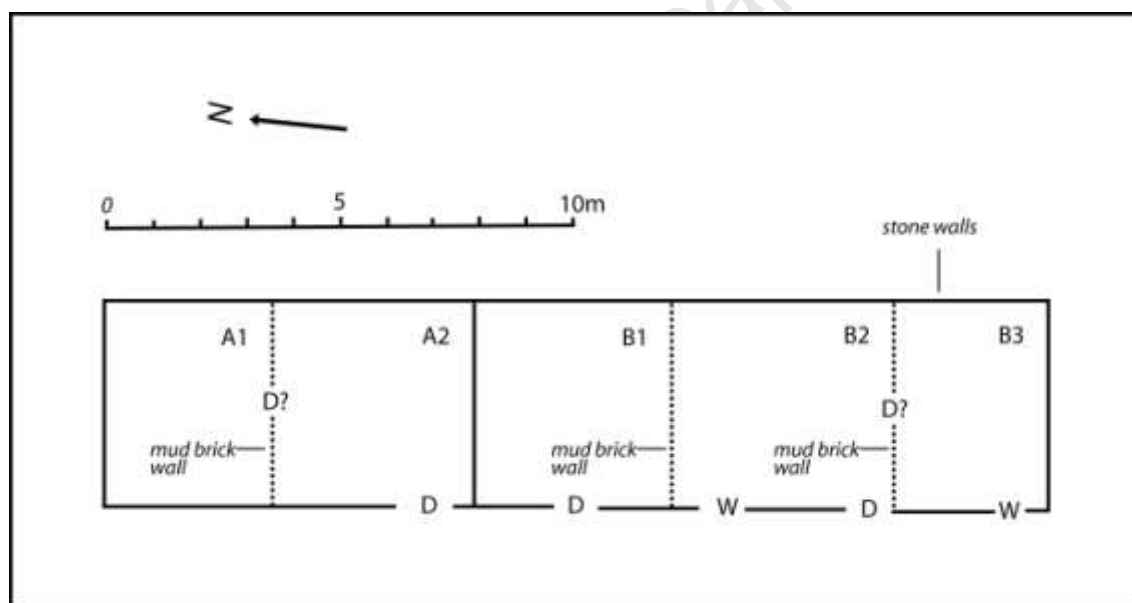


Fig. 4.25 Plan of Middel Kraal house showing two phases of development.

The northernmost room, Room A1, measures approximately 3.5 long by 4.5 metres wide. It has no external openings and is entered from its adjoining room, Room A2,



which was approximately 4 metres long and had a west-facing doorway. These rooms are separated by a collapsed mud-brick partition. Evidence of windows in Rooms A1 and A2 is lacking as only portions of the north section walls remain. Room A2 is separated from the next room by a stone wall, which has been interpreted as the external wall of an original two-roomed dwelling (Rooms A1 and A2). The three rooms south of these are interpreted as later additions (Fig. 4.26).

Room B1 has an external west-facing doorway. As its east wall has collapsed there is no evidence of a window. B1 is separated from Room B2 by a collapsed mud brick partition. B2 has a west window and a west-facing doorway to its south. B2 is separated from B3 by a collapsed mud brick partition. As B3 has no external doorway it must have been entered from B2.



Fig. 4.26. View of the three additional rooms of Middel Kraal (Own photograph).

Room B3 has a west-facing window. The external east wall of B2 and the external east and south walls of B3 are standing to roof height and there is no evidence of windows.

There is no evidence of a kitchen hearth or chimney at the Middel Kraal house. As the south end wall is complete, it is clear that Room B3 was not a kitchen. If there was an internal hearth and chimney, it would probably have been at the north end of the original house in Room A1. However, collapsed walls, dense vegetation and time constraints during the survey did not allow for further investigation.

The Middel Kraal plan suggests two building phases; the first being the construction of the two-roomed stone dwelling, Rooms A1 and A2. In this respect, the original house, in common with the small dwelling at Warmhoek, was a single dwelling divided into two sections. The second phase was the addition of three rooms, Rooms B1, B2 and B3, which more than doubled the length of the house. Based on the above evidence, the addition of rooms at Middel Kraal was a sequence that must have been prompted by increasing family size or other changing needs. Middel Kraal can, therefore, be regarded as a true I-axis longhouse. In this respect it is also different from the Warmhoek main house.

The Middel Kraal house and the Warmhoek farmhouse are similar in length and width and both have exterior walls all built of stone with mud brick internal partitions. Both have five rooms arranged on a single axis and both have three external doors in the front façades. The differences, however, are more important than their similarities. Warmhoek farmhouse is prominently positioned on its terrace, whereas Middel Kraal is located on low ground. Middel Kraal appears to have no kitchen whereas Warmhoek

has an internal kitchen with a built-in hearth and oven. The final longhouse form of the Middel Kraal house was the result of two building phases whereas Warmhoek, although having the form and appearance of a longhouse, was, as indicated above, a purpose-built complete construction.

### *Augsburg*

A third comparison with Warmhoek can be made with “Oom Dirk van Zyl’s house” at Augsburg which was photographed in approximately 1920 (Clanwilliam Museum: Photo Fa Z {or 2} A). (Fig. 4.27).



Fig. 4.27. Augsburg farmhouse c.1920.

The photograph shows a large, long I-axis farmhouse with an external ladder standing against the end of the house at the entrance to the loft. There is an adjacent barn on the same axis as the house, and the high walls of another building can be seen behind the house. The house, which is very well-maintained, overlooks a substantial kraal

which remained standing until 1966, according to a later inscription that accompanies the photograph.

The house has a new corrugated iron roof with gables at both ends as well as a small pointed central gable over a front door. Over the stoep, a curved Victorian-style corrugated iron awning painted in broad stripes extends the full length of the house. Shrubbery in a front garden, which is enclosed by a low white-washed wall, obscures approximately seven façade piercings. The house appears to be rather deep; it may have had an internal passage accessing front- and back-facing rooms, but the interior plan is not known. The exterior of its renovated state does not give any clues as to its original form but it may have incorporated the earlier thatched roof structure attributed to Van Zyl by J.A. Mostert (Kotze1981:87) with its poplar timbers and its cedar wood ceilings. Like Warmhoek, Augsburg looks like a 'modern' version of a longhouse. Both are impressive buildings and we know that Augsburg was the home of Dirk Van Zyl, the most likely builder of Warmhoek.

In summary, and based on the above comparisons, I suggest that the architecture of the Warmhoek farmhouse uses the model of the longhouse, but this was not constructed incrementally as needs arose. Consequently, the Warmhoek house is ambiguous, for, while it uses the longhouse form, the structural evidence indicates that it was built as a single event and that its layout was pre-planned. In this regard, the house is in a sense, modern. Furthermore, this may also be expressed in the seemingly more formal separation at Warmhoek between the kitchen and the living and eating room. Lastly, the Warmhoek house does not include any livestock space that is directly linked. Instead, the stable, if contemporary with the main house, was built as a separate and removed structure.

The Warmhoek main house is a substantial structure and Van Zyl is the only person of sufficient means associated with the house in the 1890s to have built it. He did not, however, live in it himself and who it was pre-planned for is uncertain. In contrast, the small dwelling is more in keeping with the base form of a longhouse, and, compared to the main house, is much humbler. I suggest that this structure is earlier in date and that the built environment of Warmhoek corroborates the documented changes in its occupiers and owners. No documents specifically list who occupied the Warmhoek main house and despite reasonable guesses, for the most part, they remain anonymous. It remains for the material finds to suggest a profile of these unknown occupants and therefore I first complete the descriptions of the excavations from which these remains were recovered before moving on, in the next chapter, to an analysis of the ceramic assemblage associated with the Warmhoek dwellings.

### Excavations

The main midden deposits associated with the WHK main house occur in a series of disconnected shallow ash deposits that start two metres east of the north east corner of the main farmhouse (Figs. 4.15 and 4.28). The kitchen, its internal hearth, and the outside oven are all at the eastern end of the main house. The Warmhoek kitchen midden, therefore, starts almost immediately to the east of the kitchen door which, clearly, was the shortest distance from the main rubbish and ash generating areas of the house. Below the house to the north and north east there is a thin broadcast scatter of material, but, if ash was also dumped here it has subsequently been washed away. The modern fence line that runs almost due north is also two metres from the house.

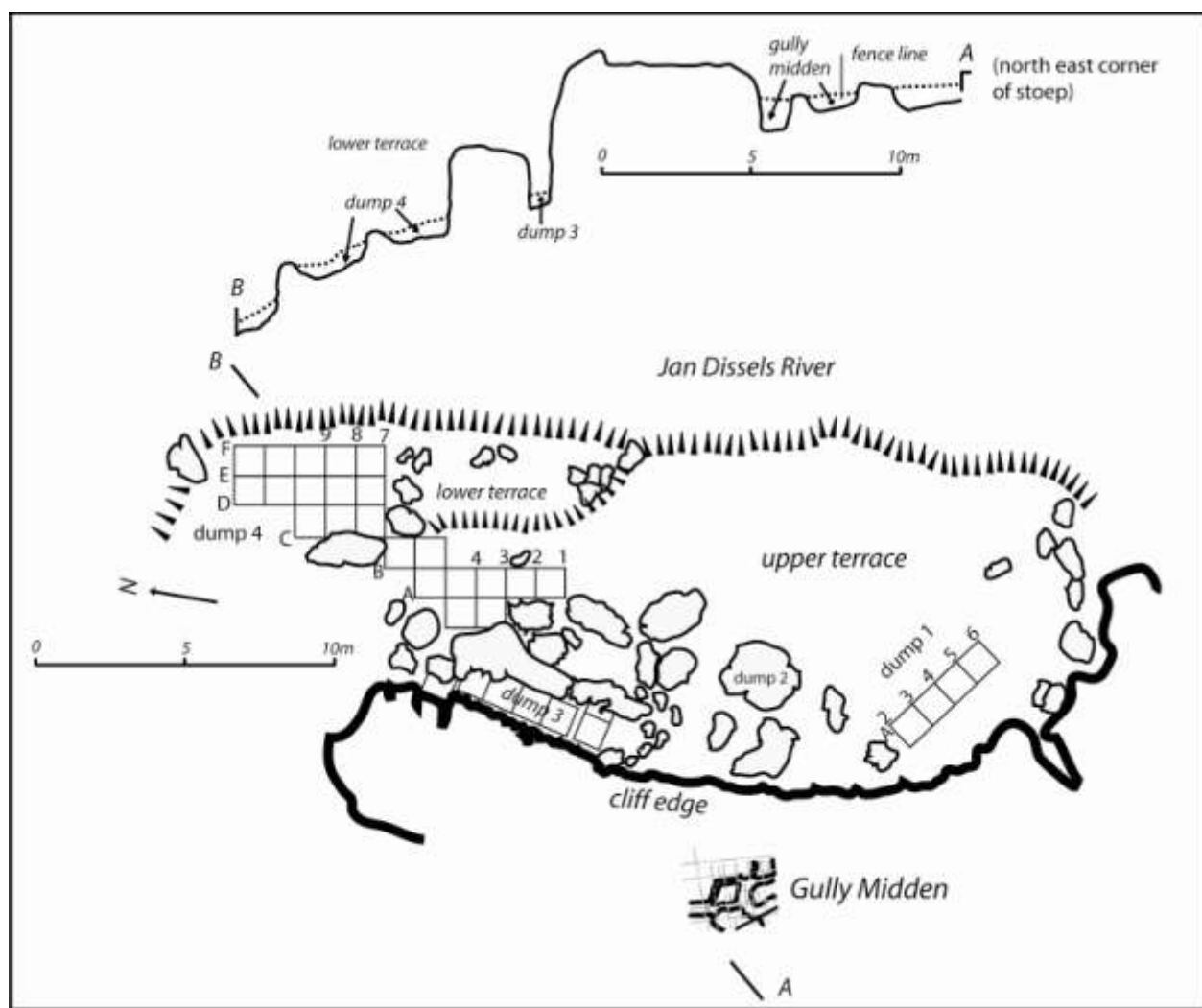


Fig. 4.28. Plan and profile of kitchen midden excavations.

The kitchen midden is not a simple and continuous deposit. This is because the eastern end of the house is perched on a rock ledge that overlooks the Jan Dissels River some seven metres below. At 14 metres from the house this ledge ends in a four metre vertical drop down to a lower terrace that in turn slopes down to the Jan Dissels River, a further 10 to 15 metres further to the east. Because of this, the kitchen midden can be divided into two sections. The first deposits are found on the upper rock ledge closest to the house and are designated Gully Midden deposits. The second deposits are below the rock ledge; they are furthest from the house and they are designated Dumps

1, 2, 3, and 4. The kitchen midden deposits are shown in the profile and plan of all the excavations in relation to the house (Fig. 4.15).

The ash deposits of the Gully Midden, on the upper section, are preserved in gullies and pockets within the rock terrace (Fig. 4.29). These were progressively filled in with ash. Because these are closest to the house it is possible that they were the first, earlier deposits. As these crevices and gullies were filled in, the main focus of dumping could have shifted further to the east and ash and rubbish was then thrown onto the lower terrace from the edge of the rock ledge.

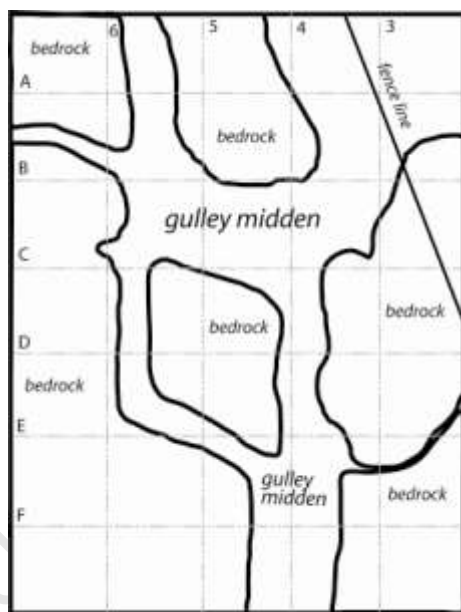


Fig. 4.29. Plan of Gully Midden excavation.

The main excavation on the upper terrace focused on the Gully Midden. This is a three to one metre wide gully that cuts the rock terrace and runs down the slope to the north. The modern fence line runs parallel to this feature immediately to the west. Excavation was difficult and cramped within this gully and was hampered by rocks, and this meant that deposits were difficult to substantially excavate because they were in small crevasses. Vertical control of this deposit was through arbitrary 100 mm spit

levels which throughout the deposits were a uniform grey ash. The deepest deposits were found in the southern, upper end of the Gully Midden where ash to a depth of 800mm occurred within some pockets formed by rocks that lined the floor of the gully. The deposit lay on top of a damp orange sandy soil that was artefactually sterile and marked the natural sandy soil that is found all over the Warmhoek terrace.

Despite the depth of deposit in the Gully Midden, it is a constricted space and it is probable that it filled quickly, and therefore, does not represent much time. Indeed, as will be shown in the next chapter, broken ceramics from the same vessels are found throughout this deposit.

The deposits in the Dumps below the rock ledge (Fig. 4.28) occur as either shallow deposit in relatively open areas of the lower terrace or in constricted gullies and crevasses that are formed by the jumble of large rocks below the rock ledge. Four separate excavations were conducted on the lower terrace. These do not share a common grid because each excavation had to be strategically positioned in relation to the constrictions imposed by the immediate terrain. There is a hint that the Dumps contained a higher density of wall plaster and brick fragments that could indicate dumping in the course of the construction of the house.

An excavation, labelled Dump 1, was located on the southern, upper end of the terrace. This comprised four square metres in a shallow 100 mm deep ashy soil that was uniformly grey throughout. Dump 2 was located between and underneath two large boulders and comprised only two square metres. Dump 2 was basically a continuation of Dump 1. Excavation was located here in a shallow 50 mm deposit because of the large ceramic pieces collected as surface finds. Dump 3 was located in a one metre wide gully at the base of the rock ledge and in that respect this excavation was similar



to that of the Gully Midden excavation on the upper terrace. It comprised five and a half square metres and, in the restricted space of the gully, had a maximum depth of 250 mm at the upper, southern end. Again, stratigraphy was uniformly simple. Dump 4 was the most extensive excavation on the lower terrace. It was positioned at the lower northern edge of the terrace. It comprised 22 square metres. The deposit was more sandy than ashy and in most places the artefacts were found in the upper 100 mm.

Artefacts were also recovered from excavations at Room 5 of the main house, at Structure 1 ('pig sty'), Structure 2 ('afdak'), and, finally, from the excavations at Structure 3 Path ('Labourers' Cottage). All of these excavations were designed to expose the features and the form of structures. The artefact densities at all of these feature excavations were extremely low. I now proceed in the next chapter to the analysis of the Warmhoek ceramic assemblage.

## CHAPTER 5 – WARMHOEK CERAMICS

### Introduction

Up to now the focus has been on the nature of the Warmhoek property, and the relationship between its acquisition by a succession of owners and occupiers and the construction and use of its built environment, as suggested by the archaeology.

This chapter is concerned with refined earthenware ceramics, one of the categories of material culture found in the Warmhoek kitchen middens and other excavations. Two questions of a general nature are asked of this material. Firstly, on the basis of identifying the ceramics, I consider their chronology to see if there is a sequence in the assemblage that reflects the documented sequence of ownership and the sequence of building events which I have suggested in the foregoing chapters. Secondly, I assess the nature of the assemblage in order to interrogate the foodways, economic status and social standing of the occupiers of Warmhoek.

I first briefly review the role that ceramic analysis has played in historical archaeology studies in South Africa with an emphasis on the nineteenth century in South Africa. This is followed by an explication of the methodology of ceramic analysis applied to the Warmhoek assemblage. The analysis and interpretation follows thereafter.

#### *The role of ceramic analysis in Historical Archaeology*

The use of ceramic vessels in domestic contexts is related to food and drink preparation, storage and serving, and to hygiene. While, from the mid-seventeenth century the VOC brought earthenware and stoneware manufactured in Europe to the

Cape, most ceramics which arrived in the Cape between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were from China and, in smaller quantities, from Japan and Germany. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, after the British took over the Cape, ceramics came almost exclusively from Britain with small amounts coming from the Netherlands and Germany. Ceramics were not manufactured in the Cape until the mid-1920's (Klose 2007: 25-28). It is this period that is relevant to the Warmhoek ceramics, but there has been little work that provides comparative material.

Domestic categories of ceramics which are relevant to Warmhoek are utilitarian (plates, cups) and ornamental, which includes dolls. Lewis Binford (1962) added an important dimension to these categories that is useful to archaeologists in interpreting the meaning of artefacts and which is pertinent to the second question posed above. Binford outlines three different ways in which artefacts can be used: a 'technomic' use where the artefact serves a basic utilitarian technical function; a 'socio-technic' use where the artefact is used in a social context; and an 'ideo-technic' use where the artefact is not utilitarian but 'functions' as an ideological symbol. Binford illustrated this point with the example of a candle which can be used as a source of light, as decoration on a dinner table, or in a religious context (Binford in Deetz 1977:51).

In England in the early eighteenth century Staffordshire potteries responded to market demand for ceramics which resembled the thin-bodied glazed Chinese ware, and improved technologies enabled the mass production of vessels of uniform dimensions that were strong enough to be exported to the colonies (Klose & Malan 2005:16). As the relative cost of manufacturing ceramics of differing qualities determines the

production, marketing and acquisition of ceramics, it can be said that archaeological ceramics represent their owners' choices determined by affordability, availability, and choice. Ceramics found on archaeological sites therefore can convey contextual information as to how ceramics were acquired and used.

Informative ceramic assemblages have come from Cape sites such as the Castle of Good Hope 1690–1730; the slave lodge at Vergelegen, the VOC outpost at in the Newlands forest 1720–1810 and from dwellings, warehouses, landfills and streambeds in central Cape Town. None of these could be associated with the occupational history of a single dwelling and they predate the late–nineteenth and early twentieth century context of concern here. Further afield in the Eastern Cape at Salem, the houses and ceramics of a mid–nineteenth century village provided an opportunity to compare the material expressions of British Settlers and their descendants in South Africa and America (Winer 1990). More recent work by Abigail Moffett on a late nineteenth century Karoo farmhouse provides material that is also more directly relevant to the Warmhoek context (Moffett 2010).

*Method of analysis: the Cape Classification System (CCS)*

The method I have applied to the analysis of the Warmhoek ceramics is based on the Cape Classification System (CCS) described by Jane Klose in her Masters thesis (Klose 1997). There are four elements to the CCS: a Provenance Record, a Catalogue, Ware & Decoration (W&D) Tables and Form & Function (F&F) Tables.

The Provenance Record is created when sherds are initially sorted, based on earthenware type and decoration. During sorting, sherds which look similar are

grouped together and at this early stage it is possible to identify the forms of flatware (plates) and hollow ware (bowls) and to identify some vessels (saucer, cup). It is a raw record and an accession list of all the sherds found. It gives the precise provenance of each sherd by square and level, and the attributes of each sherd, such as type of earthenware, presence of rims, footrings, handles, decoration and colour, and the form of the sherd (flat or hollow). The presence of a rim, a footring, a handle or decoration is a diagnostic feature which enables identification of the form of the vessel (plate or cup) and how it was used (function), for example, a dinner plate or a teacup. This raw data is stored separately on a compact disc and does not form part of this dissertation. This information is supplied in the Catalogue which is included herewith as Appendix 5.1.

The Catalogue groups matching sherds of the same vessel or vessels and assigns a unique Catalogue (Cat.) number to each group. There may be more than one vessel in such a group. This may mean that these matching vessels were part of a set and this question will be interrogated later. Photographs are an important reference; they form part of the Catalogue, and of this dissertation, and are separately stored on compact disc. Each sherd has been photographed and the photographs have been labelled with the relevant Catalogue number and a short description. A selection of images appears in the text where relevant.

The Ware & Decoration Table provides the number of sherds in categories of earthenware and in sub-categories of decoration. The number of vessels represented in each category of ware and sub-category of decoration are also noted, as well as the percentage of the assemblage which this number represents. The Form & Function

Table creates categories of functions of decorated and undecorated vessels (printed dinner plate, gilded tea cup), using the number of vessels counted in the W&D Table. These W&D and F&F Tables are included as Appendices and will be explained in more detail later.

### *Excavations*

As noted in Chapter 4 excavations were conducted at six locations on Warmhoek (Fig. 4.15) and the material finds from each are curated separately. The focus of these excavations was to recover material culture generated by the house and by the activities on the farm. In particular the debris from the house was analysed with a view to shedding light on chronology, sequence of occupation, activities, the nature of domestic organisation and foodways. There were five excavations around the main house (Fig. 4.15). The most important is the midden closest to the kitchen at the north east corner of the house which is referred to in this dissertation as the Gully Midden (GM). The midden deposits east of the chimney below the terrace on which the house stands are referred to as Dumps 1 – 4. Sherds marked Str.2 were recovered from the ‘afdak’ (AFD) of the main farmhouse and sherds from the ‘pig sty’ feature are marked Str.1 (Structure 1). Sherds from the stoep of the main house were marked Main House (MHS). The sixth excavation is of the separate feature (dwelling) north of the main farmhouse (Fig. 4.1 and 4.11). In this dissertation I refer to it as Structure 3 Path (Str.3 Path). Insofar as the samples allow, the similarities and differences of the six deposits and their relationship to each other is a focus of the ceramic analysis.

## Ceramic Analysis

The total sample is 1185 sherds. As expected, the majority of these (84%) come from the Gully Midden and Dumps 1–4. The other deposits had very few sherds. The Warmhoek sherds are generally small to very small with few larger pieces. The relative degrees of fragmentation in the deposits can be compared by calculating the number of vessels against the number of sherds. In the Table 5.1 the degree of fragmentation is indicated by the ratio between the number of sherds and the minimum number of vessels (MNV) identified.

The Table shows that in the Dumps vessels were represented by an average of nine sherds each, whereas in other locations vessels were represented by seven or fewer sherds. This indicates that the Dumps' sherds were the most fragmented. This can be accounted for by taphonomic disturbance, probably by trampling agents, as the Dumps' deposits were scattered on an open terrace and were very shallow.

Table 5.1: Number of sherds per vessel as an indicator of degree of fragmentation, by location.

Location	n Sherds	n MNV	nMNV: nS	Ratio S : MNV
Gully Midden	557	88	1 : 6.32	6 : 1
Dumps 1–4	434	47	1 : 9.23	9 : 1
Afdak	89	13	1 : 6.84	7 : 1
Main House	41	9	1 : 4.55	5 : 1
Str.1	10	2	1 : 5	5 : 1
Str.3 Path	54	15	1 : 36	4 : 1
All locations	1185	174	1 : 681	7 : 1

Only 17 sherds were found below 30 cm depth. These sherds were therefore exposed. In contrast, the Gully Midden deposits were protected within the crevices of the rocky main terrace. Overall, however, the fragmentation is fairly even in all the contexts as the average number of sherds per vessel for the assemblage was 7:1.

### Cross Matches and Cross Mends

Some idea of the chronological relation between the deposits can be determined by examining similarities and differences in the ceramics present. Given the documented history of Warmhoek, the question is whether there is any change in the nature of the ceramics that is time-related, i.e. what can the deposits tell us about sequence? In many cases, sherds that look similar were excavated from separate deposits and occasionally some of these fitted each other, allowing some degree of reconstructing single vessels. The Catalogue records two kinds of cross mend, namely of fitted sherds from different excavations and of fitted sherds from different levels from the same excavation. Two instances of the former and one of the latter are found as shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Cross mends. Fitted sherds of single vessels collected from different locations or different levels of a deposit; listed by Catalogue number.

X represents one sherd.

CAT. No.	G M	DUMPS	MHS	LEVELS	SQUARES
CAT. 60		X	X		
CAT. 99	X	X			
Cat. 50	X XXX X X			1–10 cm 40–50 cm 70–80cm ?	C3 C5 B5 B3



Cat.60 and Cat.99 are examples of mending of sherds from different excavations. In Cat.60 a Main House (MHS) sherd is fitted to one from Dump 3. Cat.99 is a footring from Dump 3 and cross mends with another footring from the Gully Midden. Cat.50 is an example of mending of sherds from different levels in adjacent squares of the same excavation. In this example six G M rim sherds are fitted together: one from C3 1–10 is fitted to three from C5 40–50, one from B5 70–80 and to one from B3.

Table 5.3 shows numerous instances of similar ceramic sherds from different excavations which may be from the same vessel but cannot be fitted. I therefore identify cross matched sherds as those of similar ware and decoration that were found in different excavated locations and are either a fragment of the same vessel (although not fitted) or represent another similar vessel, possibly from a set.

Table 5.3 shows that cross matching is recorded for 75 vessels in 45 categories. The Table confirms that sherds from the MHS stoep, the 'afdak' and Str. 1 match others found in the Gully Midden and Dumps 1–4 and this confirms the association of all five features at the core of the Warmhoek farmyard. This suggests that all were used simultaneously and that there was no significant shift in the dumping patterns over the period of the main house occupation. The cross-matched and cross mended sherds indicate that these deposits can, therefore, be treated as a single analytical unit.

In view of the previously noted uncertain relationship between Str.3 Path and the farmhouse, it is further noteworthy that there is only one instance of cross matching between Str.3 Path and the Warmhoek main house precinct. This occurs in Dump 3 (Cat.67). There is also no instance of cross mending between Str.3 Path and the Warmhoek main house area.

Table 5.3: Cross matches. Matched sherds (not fitted) of one or more vessels collected from different locations; listed by Catalogue number.

X represents one or more sherds.

CAT. No.	G M	DUMPS	AFDAK	MHS	STR.1.	STR. 3	No. of vessels
1	X	X		X			5
2	X	X					1
3	X	X		X			2
4	X	X					1
5	X		X	X	X		3
6	X	X		X			3
15	X	X					1
25	X		X				1
28	X	X			X		1
30	X	X					1
31	X	X					1
48	X	X					2
53	X	X	X				13
54	X	X					6
57		X		X			1
61	X	X		X			1
62	X	X					1
64		X (D2,D3,D4)					1
65	X	X					1
66	X	X					2
67		X				X	1
70	X	X					1
71		X			X		1
72	X	X					1
76		X		X			4
77-85	X	X					11
88-95	X	X					5
224	X	X					1
275		X	X				1
276	X		X				1

Apart from the Str.3 Path context, the above evidence of cross mending and cross matching of ceramic sherds implies integrity of time and space in the material culture. A sequence of isolated deposition events, represented by sharp breaks, is not discernable in the stratigraphy of the farmhouse deposits and this implies a relatively short period of occupation in which the dumping patterns do not change and also the ceramic assemblage does not change and, on the evidence presented so far, the ceramic assemblage is relatively homogenous. It remains for a more detailed analysis of the ceramic types to ascertain whether this is in fact the case.

## Dating

In order to start this investigation, I first look at the ceramics for dates of manufacture, and, by extension, I compare these with the date of occupation of the farmhouse suggested by the documents. Fortunately, in Britain, records of manufacture have been kept since the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the potteries that produced and distributed domestic ceramics, and researchers such as G.A. Godden (1994) have provided useful reference works based on these records. Dating is possible by makers' marks, by ware (refined earthenware, stoneware, porcelain) and by decoration.

### *Dating by Maker's Marks*

Maker's marks were used on British ceramics from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards (Klose 2007:70). Sherds of British origin were found in the Gully Midden, the Dumps, the Afdak, the MHS stoep, and Str.1 and a number of them had a maker's mark. Some sherds of Continental European ware were found but only one manufacturer's name could be discerned and I was not able to track this down. The Table below describes the makers' marks I have identified on Warmhoek ceramics. The dates for the British marks are given only in broad terms, as provided by the references cited. Generally,

they are the dates during which the factories named were in operation. Other pertinent information is given in Table 5.4. The maker's marks have been photographed (Fig. 5.2). They indicate that most of the ceramics with a maker's mark were manufactured in the late-19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> century period and this provides a tight chronology.

Despite the presence of some broad chronological markers, at least four of the maker's marks indicate dates of manufacture in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This is a relatively tight chronology which is in keeping with the suggested dates for the construction of the main house and its subsequent occupation.

Table 5.4: British and Continental European makers' marks arranged chronologically.

DATES	BRITISH	CAT. NO.
1881 – 1928	Description: Garter with central bell; used from 1881. Pattern: "BRAZIL". Maker: J & M P BELL & CO. Ref. Godden (1994) No.320, p.66.	6
1891 – 1907	Description: 'Royal Semi-Porcelain' over green crown over horizontal garter 'Wood & Son' over 'England' Maker: Wood & Son, 1891–1907. Ref: Godden (1994) No.4285, p.689. This company became 'Wood & Sons' around 1907.	20
From mid- 19th century onwards	Description: "ROYAL..." in a banner, in black. Ref: Post mid-19 <sup>th</sup> century when the word 'Royal' was first used in maker's marks Ref: Klose 2007:71	97

Table 5.4: British and Continental European makers' marks arranged chronologically (Continued).

DATES	BRITISH	CAT. NO.
19 <sup>th</sup> – early 20 <sup>th</sup> century	Description: "Doulton & Co. Limited, 23, Lambeth" and separate mark indicating date of manufacture. Maker: Doulton & Co (Ltd.) 1858 – 1956. Ref: Godden (1994) p.214 and Lastovica p.18	21
1891 – 20 <sup>th</sup> century	Description: Garter and cross band "ENGLAND EXCELLA CHINA" From 1891 onwards the name 'England' was shown on some ceramics. Ref: Klose 2007:71.	18
1906 – 1912	Description: Globe encircled by ribbon: "BURGE... BURSLEM" Maker: Burgess & Leigh 1906–1912. Ref: Godden (1994) No. 717, p. 117	32
?	Description: Impressed mark: Crescent with possible small star and turtle. The crescent was used at Bow China Works Stratford (1747 – 1776) and at Worcester Porcelains (1755 – 1790). Ref: Godden (1994) No.506, p.93 and Godden (1994) No. 4313–142, p.693	4
?	Pattern: "HYDE PARK" and an illegible impressed number	5
?	Partial, scratched 'K A...' in a circle.	22
?	Crown and part of 'garter', green, 1.5 mm, flat	19
?	Stamped 'paw' print with 2 indecipherable letters on a saucer which has a gilded shamrock in the depression	10
?	" v a. LE. LAN" Small undiagnostic sherd.	240

Table 5.4: British and Continental European makers' marks arranged chronologically (Continued).

DATES	CONTINENTAL EUROPEAN	CAT NO.
?	"– etrus Regout & Co. Maastricht ** 'Toko' Made in Holland". Lion, reclined, facing left.	1
?	German/Austrian? "...DEIN" & motif.	31
?	Green: "...tria" under a crown, hand painted, red, brown, green. Austrian?	63
?	Green: "VICTORIA" over a crown, "Czacko-Sl.." under crown. The design name suggests this vessel was made for the British market.	68
?	Lower body of a lion with tail arched forward over its back; "Maestricht ** Made in Holland". Undiagnostic sherd.	197
	** (Note: Different spellings of 'Maastricht' and 'Maestricht' – diagnostic for dating?)	

Some of the maker's and design marks are illustrated below (Fig. 5.1).



CAT. 6 J & M P Bell & Co.



CAT. 20 Wood & Son



CAT. 97 'Royal ...'



CAT. 18 'England Excella China'



CAT. 21 Doulton & Co. Limited, 23, Lambeth



Cat. 32 Burgess & Leigh



CAT. 5 'Hyde Park'



CAT. 1 Petrus Regout & Co. Maastricht 'Toko'





CAT. 31 '... DEIN'



CAT. 63 '... tria'



CAT. 68 'VICTORIA' 'Czacko-Sl...



CAT. 197 'Maestricht. Made in Holland'

Fig. 5.1. Makers' Marks.

Ceramic dolls and toy ceramic tea sets were also found at Warmhoek and provide an additional means of dating the material (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5. Ceramic dolls and china toy tea sets. The 'X' represents a single fragment.

	G M	DUMPS	AFDAK	MHS	STR.1	STR. 3	CAT.
Torso	X	X X X	X				53
Limbs	X X X	X					53
Arm	X X						53
Face		X X					53
Cup	X X X						54
Saucer	X	X X					54

There are nineteen fragments of ceramic dolls and tea sets, none of which could be fitted or positively matched. Thirteen are fragments of dolls (Cat.53) and six are fragments of dolls' cups and saucers (Cat.54). All were found in association with the main farmhouse, and indicate the presence of girls. China doll manufacturing commenced in approximately 1834. Production peaked in the 1860's and continued after this date (Lastovica 1990:76). One distinctive type of doll was found in the Gully Midden at 40–50 cm, and can be more specifically dated. It was known as a 'Frozen Charlotte', 'penny doll' or 'pillar doll' (Fig. 5.2). These dolls were stiff, solid one-piece figures with fused legs and their arms at their sides (Lastovica 1990:76). The Warmhoek example has fused arms. They were illustrated in a Butler Brothers (USA)



CAT. 53.

Fig. 5.2. Dolls' torsos and faces. 'Frozen Charlotte': top centre.

catalogue of 1895 (Lastovica 1990:81) and are also advertised in South Africa in the Thorne, Stuttford & Co. Catalogue in 1897 (Lastovica 1990:74). These dates are entirely consistent with those derived from the maker's marks on ceramics.

### *Dating by Ware and Decoration*

It is also possible to date ceramics by the type of clay used, the way it is fired, the degree of vitrification, and, to some extent, by the various methods of applying patterns and colours, and this is recorded by Klose in the text of HARG Handbook Number 1, Second Edition (Klose 2007:69–70). Archaeological ceramics found at Cape sites are illustrated in this publication and provide additional useful dating information.

The data in Table 5.6 is taken from Klose's text and has been arranged chronologically. This data is less precise in terms of chronology than the makers' marks because some ceramic designs were continuously used throughout the nineteenth century. In the column 'Ware & Decoration Figure numbers in brackets refer to the illustrations in the above-mentioned publication. I have included columns showing the provenance of the sherds and their Catalogue number.

Table 5.6: Period of manufacture of ceramics found at Warmhoek, listed in chronological sequence from earliest date of manufacture (Klose 2007:69–70) and showing provenance and Category number.

PERIOD OF MANUFACTURE	WARE & DECORATION	WHK PROVENANCE	CAT. No.
Post 1800 to the present	Blue transfer printed white ware – Willow pattern. (Fig.345)	GM 20–30	Cat. 8.
Early 19 <sup>th</sup> century (1820) onwards	Green (single colour) transfer printed ‘Asiatic Pheasants’ pattern. (Fig 351, 367 & 369)	G.M. Surface to 30 cm	Cat. 2
1840 to 1880	Printed white ware, ‘Rhine’ pattern (Fig.356)	Dump 3 surface & Str. 3 Path	Cat. 67
Mid–19 <sup>th</sup> century	Lilac sprigged decoration (Klose 2007:52 & Figs.166&167)	Str.3 Path	Cat. 287
19 <sup>th</sup> century	Pale blue transfer printed ‘Asiatic Pheasants’ pattern (Fig.353)	GM 10cm through to 80cm, and two sherds from MHS	Cat. 3
19 <sup>th</sup> century	Industrial Slipware (Fig 406 & 407)	GM 30–40cm and Str. 3 Path	Cat.46
19 <sup>th</sup> century	British stoneware bottles / flasks	Dumps Surface – 50cm, and MHS	Cat. 57, 58, 59
19 <sup>th</sup> century	‘Royal rim’ cream coloured ware. (Fig. 299)	Dump 3 Surface –30cm, and one from MHS	Cat. 60 & 195
19 <sup>TH</sup> –early 20 <sup>th</sup> century	Salt glazed ink bottle – British commercial stoneware (Fig. 225 & 235)	GM 10–20cm	Cat 21

19 <sup>th</sup> to 20 <sup>th</sup> century	White ware with lines (Fig 417 & 418)	GM 20–30cm	Cat. 228
Late 19 <sup>th</sup> – 20 <sup>th</sup> century	‘Teapot ware’ (Fig. 323)	GM & Dumps Surface – 30cm	Cat. 15
Late 19 <sup>th</sup> to early 20 <sup>th</sup> century	Sponge decorated white ware (Figs. 398 & 399)	GM Surface to 80cm; most sherds below 40 cm	Cat. 47 to Cat. 52
Late 19 <sup>th</sup> to 20 <sup>th</sup> century	White ware, ‘embossed’ or moulded rims (Fig. 421a)	GM 40–50cm and GM 70–80cm	Cat. 40
Early 20 <sup>th</sup> century	Pink lustre banded European porcelain (Fig.431)	GM 20–30cm & GM 40–50cm	Cat. 12 & 13
Early 20 <sup>th</sup> century	White gilded porcelain (Fig. 434 & Fig.165)	Dumps 0–30cm and GM 30–40cm	Cat. – various

It can be seen that some wares found at Warmhoek were not produced until the late nineteenth century or early twentieth century and this corroborates dating by makers’ marks. There are two instances of a pattern which has a mid-nineteenth century date (Fig 5.3). Cat. 67, the ‘Rhine pattern’, was produced from 1840 to 1880 and was found in Dump D3 (two footrings) and in Str.3 Path (1 rim). Cat. 287, ‘lilac sprigged’ decoration on teaware, was popular in the mid-nineteenth century and was found in Str. 3 Path only.

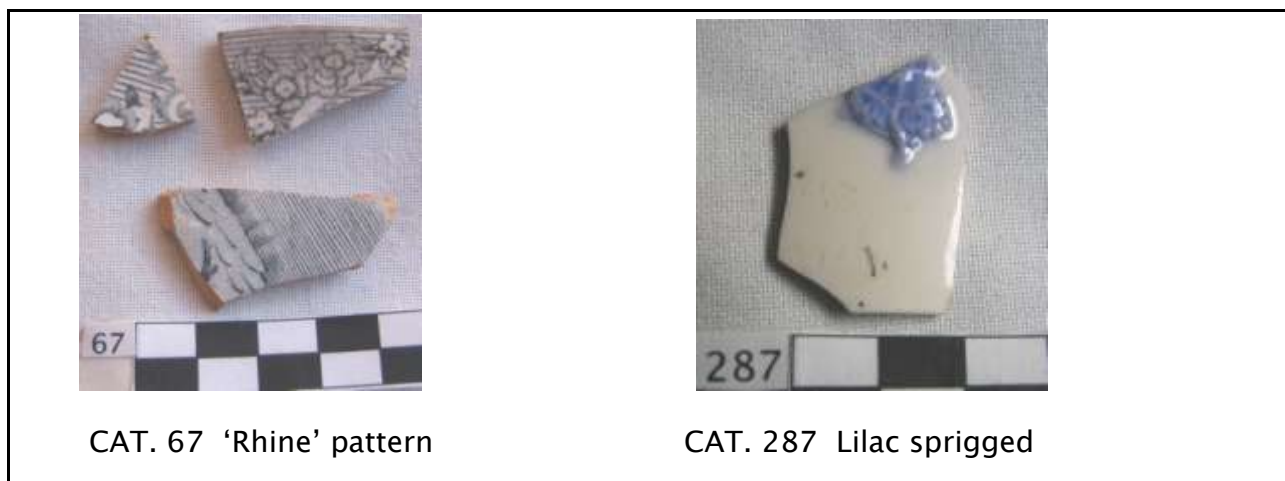


Fig. 5.3. 'Rhine' pattern and Lilac sprigged decoration.

There is nothing in the ceramics that contradicts the chronology indicated by the maker's marks for the occupation of the main farmhouse. Therefore, the above data confirm the period of occupation of the main Warmhoek farmhouse as late 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> century which coincides with the documented sub-division of Lot 1320, the transfer of Platberg B to Dirk van Zyl and the previously suggested date of construction of the farmhouse in approximately 1896. However, there is a hint that the Str.3 Path dwelling dates earlier.

It has been shown above that on the basis of the stratigraphy, cross mends and dating of ceramics there is little to separate the different depositional locations at the farmhouse in terms of time and space. Nevertheless, I use the Cape Colonial System to analyse each deposit separately in order to compare them.

The following sections analyse the assemblage by means of Ware and Decoration Tables (W&D) and by Form & Function Tables (F&F).

## WARE AND DECORATION ANALYSIS

A Ware and Decoration Table has been prepared for each of the six excavations: Gully Midden, Dumps 1–4, Afdak, Main House, Str. 1 and Str.3 Path (Appendices 5.2 through to 5.8). The total number of sherds recorded in the W&D Tables is 1185 and these account for a minimum of 174 vessels (MNV).

### Introduction

The W&D Table distinguishes between diagnostic, undiagnostic and indefinite sherds. Diagnostic sherds have rims or footrings or handles which suggest the form (shape) of the vessel of which they were once a part. Pattern and colour can be diagnostic in the absence of a rim or footring. Undiagnostic sherds lack all such features; their number is recorded in the appropriate ware category, but they are not dealt with any further. Indefinite sherds have a diagnostic feature, but their form cannot be determined. They too, are counted but are not dealt with further. In the case of Warmhoek, the default diagnostic sherd is the rim because rims are more frequent than footrings. The W&D Table therefore generates MNV that can be identified for each ware type, based primarily on rims. The MNV is also expressed as a percentage of the total number of vessels (%MNV).

The W&D Table lists five main categories of ceramic ware: Porcelain, Stoneware, Earthenware, Tin Glazed ware and Refined Industrial Ware (RIW), also generally referred to as 'china' or bone china. Sub-categories of these will be detailed later. There was already a great variety of ceramic wares available in the nineteenth century in the Cape Colony. Much of it was used for the daily preparation and storage of food and needed to be affordable, robust and easily replaceable. Inexpensive, undecorated plain and

moulded white-wares and cheaply decorated sponged and slipware ceramics probably fulfilled these functions (Klose & Malan 2005:14, 20 & 31) and would fall into Lewis Binford's 'technomic' category (Binford 1962). Household ceramics of his 'socio-technic' category can be expected to be finer, more skillfully decorated, to have greater aesthetic appeal and to be more costly to replace. A ware & decoration analysis of a domestic assemblage allows one, on the basis of these features, to investigate these issues.

### Categories of Ware

The following categories of wares and decoration are relevant to Warmhoek:

Porcelain: Asian porcelain is minimally represented by Japanese export printed ware. Based on maker's marks previously listed, I have identified the presence of porcelain from Continental Europe, although European hard paste porcelain is difficult to distinguish from British bone china (Klose 2007:52).

Earthenware: Khoe pottery sherds are present but undiagnostic. They significantly pre-date the Warmhoek farm occupation and will not be dealt with further. A (probably British) clay pipestem was found but the presence of this single fragment is not interpreted.

Refined Industrial Wares (RIW): These wares have a wide range of vitrification including highly vitrified porcelain vessels (Klose & Malan 2000:50). So-called 'bone china' and 'china' falls into this category. RIW occurs at Warmhoek in several sub-categories of ware:

*White bodied - Undecorated*: I place moulded, fluted and ribbed vessels in the undecorated category as these embellishments are achieved by pressing the clay into moulds before firing the wares (Klose & Malan 2005:21) and therefore such wares are



relatively inexpensive to produce. I distinguish between six categories: plain, cream coloured, moulded or relief, 'hotel ware', fluted, ribbed, Royal or Queen edged.

*White bodied – Decorated:* There are numerous decoration techniques. Those recorded for Warmhoek are lines, bands, sponged patterns, slipware (also known as annular ware), transfer printed, painted, printed and painted, enamelled (paint applied over glaze), gilded and lusted.

*Coloured-bodied and tinted-body wares:* These have a coloured glaze. Only teapot ware with its shiny (dark) brown glaze is present at Warmhoek.

*Stoneware:* I have categorized all the stonewares as Refined Industrial Ware.

*Ornamental Parian & Bisque (white fired clay):* These clays are used for cheap ornaments and doll's (Lastovica 1990:77) and, although included in the W&D Tables, they are not included in F&F analysis.

Table 5.7 details the frequency of the seven wares listed by excavation context. The number of sherds and the MNV is shown. The Table shows that the Refined Industrial Ware categories dominate the assemblage in all the deposits.

Table 5.7: Frequency of Wares in Gully Midden, Dumps, Afdak, MHS, Str.1 and Str. 3 Path showing numbers of sherds and vessels (MNV) in seven categories of ware.

W & D	Gully Midden		Dumps		Afdak		Main House		Str.1 Pig Sty		Str.3 Path	
Total Sherds: 1185	557		434		89		41		10		54	
	n	M N V	n	M N V	n	M N V	n	M N V	n	M N V	n	M N V
Asian Porcelain	0	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Khoi Earthenware	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0
RIW	257	17	271	4	56	3	19	2	4	0	20	2

Undecorated												
RIW – Continental	54	9	19	3	3	1	3	1	0	0	0	0
RIW – British	218	59	113	33	27	8	18	6	6	2	25	13
RIW – Coloured Body	2	1	9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RIW – Stoneware	4	2	6	4	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	541	88	425	47	87	13	41	9	10	2	54	15

Note that 27 sherds have been omitted from this record and therefore the totals reflected in the last line of figures is less than the total number of sherds excavated as shown in the top line. The omitted sherds are the two ‘indefinite’ earthenware sherds from the Gully Midden and all ornamental sherds recorded in the W&D Tables, including the dolls and their tea sets, none of which have analytical value in a ceramics assemblage. These and the Khoe pottery will continue to be excluded from the Tables which follow. As Str.1 (‘pig sty’) has only ten sherds and two MNV it will also not be included in subsequent Tables and Figures. However, for the record, it is noted that the Str. 1 vessels are two medium/large sized printed plates (Cat.5) and that other sherds found in Str. 1 match those in Cat.28 and Cat.71. Therefore, this structure is associated with the other main farmhouse deposits.

Having developed the analysis so far, I now examine the frequency of undecorated and decorated RIW vessels in the remaining five locations in order to compare patterns of deposition. Table 5.8 shows the actual numbers of undecorated and decorated vessels by location and as a percentage of MNV.

Table 5.8: Decorated and Undecorated RIW MNV excavated at five Warmhoek locations (Str. 1 'pig sty' excluded) shown as a percentage of total MNV in each location.

LOCATION	No. MNV	UNDECORATED MNV		DECORATED MNV	
		n MNV	% MNV	n MNV	% MNV
Gully Midden	85	18	21.17	67	78.82
Dumps	40	4	10	36	90
Afdak	12	3	2.5	9	75
Main House	9	2	2.2	7	77
Str. 3 Path	15	2	13.3	13	86.6
	161	29	18.01	132	81.9

The Table shows that the samples in three of the excavations are very small. It is for the same reason that the two vessels from Str. 1 'pig sty' have been omitted from the Table. As a result one cannot compare them. Nevertheless, and because the Str. 3 Path dwelling may have an earlier date, this is included in the above table (Table 5.8) and will be interrogated further in this study.

Fig. 5.4 is a graphic depiction of similar data to that shown in Table 5.8. It includes coloured bodied (Decorated) and stoneware (Undecorated) vessels bringing the number of MNV represented in this Figure to 170. The figure shows that Decorated vessels significantly outnumber Undecorated vessels, although the Undecorated MNV might be under-represented.

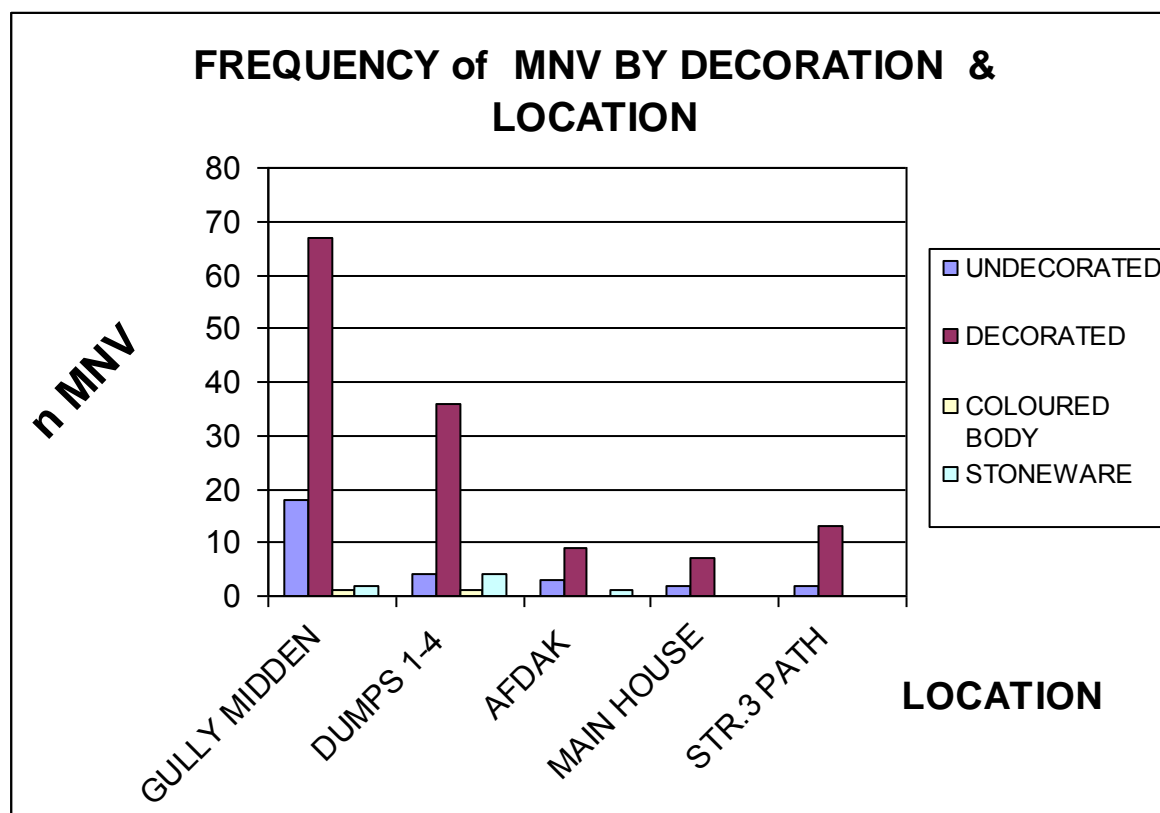


Fig. 5.4: Frequency Undecorated and Decorated vessels (MNV=170) by location.

### *Decoration of Ceramics*

The W&D Tables (Appendices 5.2 through to 5.8) list the various decorations found on the Warmhoek ceramics. The presence or absence of decorations in the various deposits is shown below (Fig. 5.5). Undecorated plain and Moulded/Fluted/Ribbed vessels are included by way of comparison although I have placed them in the Undecorated category of the W&D Tables. Fig. 5.5 shows that: Printed/ Painted and Gilded/Lustred vessels are the most frequent and obviously occur predominantly in the Gully Midden and Dumps; all of the eight decoration types occur on vessels from the Gully Midden; six decoration types occur in the Dumps. Plain, undecorated vessels and slipware are absent in the Dumps. Slipware was found only in the Gully Midden, the Afdak and at Str.3 Path. Sponged decoration and lines/bands appear in four

deposits. Moulded/fluted/ribbed appear in three deposits. Coloured Bodied vessels appear in only two deposits.

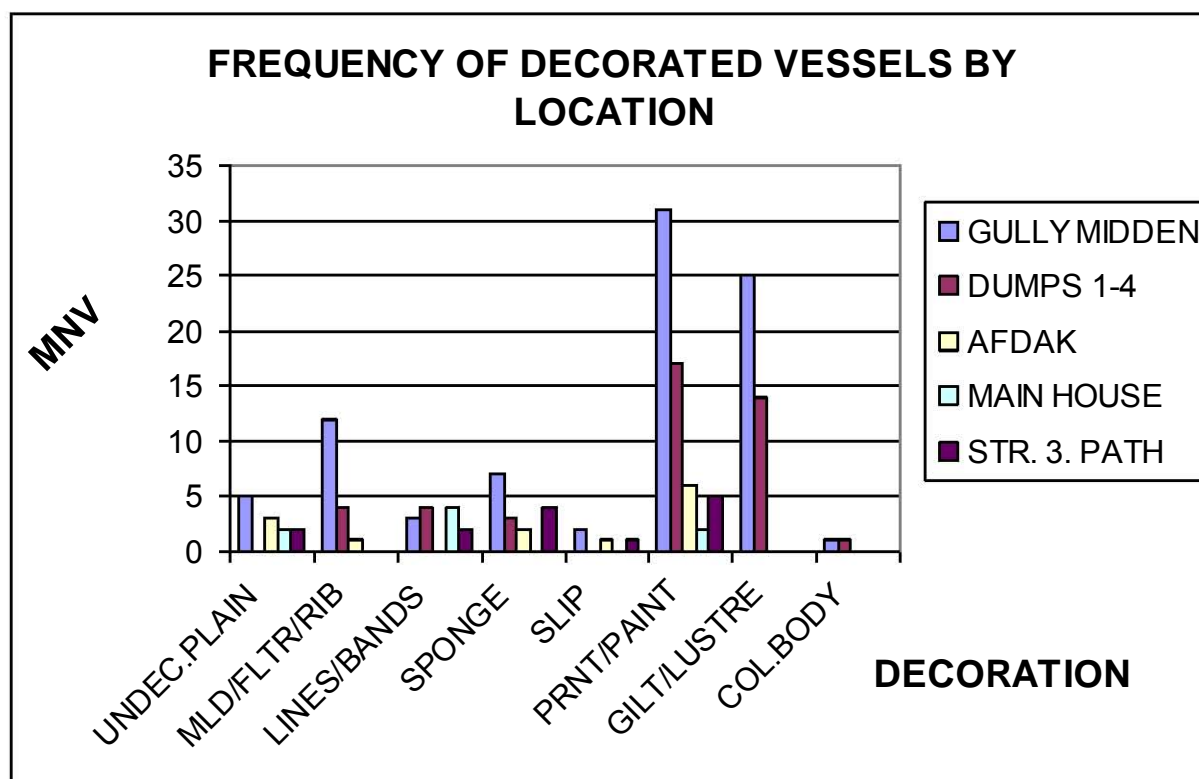


Fig. 5.5. Frequency of Decorated vessels by location (MNV=174)

#### *Discussion of Ware and Decoration Analysis*

The W&D Figures and Tables show that the assemblage is dominated by refined industrial wares (RIW) and that decorated vessels in the Print/Paint and Gilt/Lustre categories are the most frequent in the assemblage. These categories are more costly than the other decoration categories (Klose & Malan 2005: 17–21). However, there is nothing in the Warmhoek assemblage which is intrinsically expensive. Klose & Malan point out that when RIW could be mass-produced, cheaper techniques were used to apply gilding and lustre, particularly on teaware, where, for instance, thin, weak layers of gold or splashes of lustre which wore off easily were applied (Klose & Malan 2005:18). In fact, some of the gilding on Warmhoek vessels was difficult to detect.

Therefore, when the Warmhoek ceramics are referred to as more costly, this is merely in comparison with wares that were more simply decorated and therefore more affordable.

## FORM & FUNCTION ANALYSIS

The Form and Function (F&F) Table is based on the MNV derived from the W&D analysis but focuses on their shape (Form, e.g. cup) and how they are used (Function, e.g. Teaware).

### Introduction

The shape (form) of a vessel is naturally appropriate to its function, but there are few sherds in the Warmhoek assemblage which are large enough for their form and function to be immediately obvious or easily ascertained. When sherds are small, other indications of form can be noted. Saucers are distinguished, for example, firstly by their central depression and, failing that, by the profile and curvature of their ledge, or by their circumference which suggests the size of the vessel. Soup plates have a deep depression (cavetto) in the centre. Bowls are hollow wares with circumferences too wide to be cups or mugs. Cups may have a handle or a handle scar but, in the absence of these, can be identified by their rim circumference which is generally smaller than that of bowls. The profile of a cup generally tapers down to the footring. Straight sided ceramic drinking vessels are classified as mugs, but it is not always possible to distinguish between a cup sherd and a mug sherd. The position of decoration on a sherd also greatly assists in identifying forms when the sherds are small. Flat forms (plates) have their decorations on their upper (concave) surface. Bowls, cups and mugs have most of their decoration on their convex (outer) surface.

The value of the F&F analysis is that it shows how household ceramics were used thus giving insight into lifeways and foodways practised. In some cases, the type of decoration can be an indicator of the form of the vessel. For example, a slipware sherd is likely to be a bowl, a jug or a mug, as few plates were decorated in this way; gilding was popular on bone china teaware (Klose & Malan 2005:18, 20).

The following Function categories apply to the Warmhoek assemblage: Cooking & Food Preparation, Food & Drink Storage, Food Distribution/Consumption, Drinking, Health & Hygiene, Utilitarian and Ornamental. The Forms are sub-categories of the Function categories. Ware and decoration data is included so as to distinguish between similar forms with different decorations. The frequency of forms per function is recorded as an actual number and also as a percentage of the total number of forms (% Forms).

#### Form and Function Tables

A F&F Table has been prepared for each depositional location (Appendices 5.9 to 5.15). No Cooking & Food Preparation vessels are present probably because other materials such as metal enamelled bowls and glass were used for these purposes. Only nine forms were identified in the following categories: Food/Drink Storage (5 stoneware vessels), Health & Hygiene (2 basins), Utilitarian (2 ink bottles). As these numbers are too low to have any analytical value, my focus is therefore on forms in the Food Distribution/Consumption and Drinking categories only. These comprise 165 vessels out of the 174 vessels in the assemblage.

The Food Distribution/Consumption category lists four types of plate as well as bowls, dishes and lids. The Drinking category lists cups, mugs, saucers and tea or coffee pots. Table 5.9 summarizes the frequency of forms in these two categories and their

percentage in the assemblage is derived from the F&F Tables. The nine vessels mentioned above which are in other categories of Function are not included in the Table below.

Table 5.9: Function and frequency of forms in the Food Distribution/ Consumption and Drinking categories as per F&F Tables.

<b>FOOD DISTRIBUTION &amp; CONSUMPTION FORMS</b>	<b>n Vessels</b>	<b>% MNV (174)</b>
Large Plates: 230–260 mm	2	2.7
Soup Plates: Deep cavetto	5	2.87
Med./Large Plates: 220–260 mm	24	13.79
Small/ Med. Plates: max.210 mm	17	9.77
Bowls (All: S/M/L)	24	13.79
Dish	1	0.57
Lid of serving dish	1	0.57
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>42.52</b>
<b>DRINKING FORMS</b>		
Cup	40	22.98
Mug	14	8.04
Saucer	35	20.1
Tea/Coffee pot	2	1.14
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>52.29</b>
<b>TOTAL in the two categories</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>94.81</b>

The Table shows that of the 174 vessels identified in the Warmhoek assemblage, 74 of them, or nearly 43 % are for the serving of food, and 91 of them, over 52%, are for the serving of hot drinks, e.g. tea or coffee.

Table 5.10 below shows the depositional locations of these wares. For convenience, I will refer to the Food Distribution/Consumption category as Tableware and to the Drinking category as Teaware. The Table shows that the two middens (GM and Dumps 1–4) and the Main House all yielded roughly similar percentages of Tableware (31% –



44%) and Teaware (55% – 60%) vessels. Str.3 Path (App.5.13) is a very small sample in which, in contrast to GM & Dumps, Teaware is minimal and Tableware is more frequent. Similarly, the Afdak sample is very small.

Table 5.10: Comparison % MNV Food Distribution/Consumption and Drinking ware by location.

	ASSEMBLAGE	GM	DUMPS	AFDAK	MHS	STR.3 PATH
	174 MNV	88 MNV	47 MNV	13 MNV	9 MNV	15 MNV
FOOD DISTRIBUTION & CONSUMPTION	43%	36.35%	31.80%	76%	44.40%	86.50%
DRINKING	52%	60%	57.40%	15%	55.50%	13%

Fig. 5.6 lists eleven Tableware and Teaware forms and the deposits in which these vessels were found. The Figure shows that all of the eleven forms listed occur in the Dumps although six of them are represented by two or fewer vessels. The Gully Midden has nine forms and six of them are represented by five or more vessels; large plates and lids are absent.

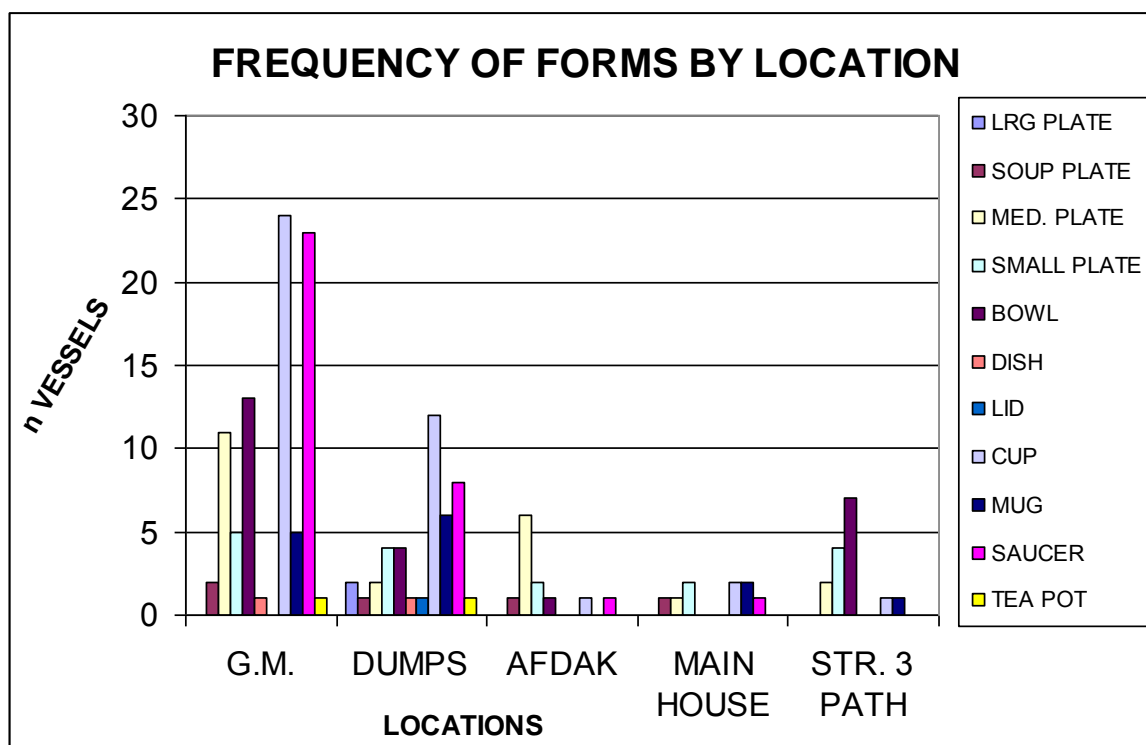


Figure 5.6: Frequency of Forms by location (MNV=165)

Cups and saucers outnumber any other form in the Gully Midden and Dumps; medium plates, bowls and mugs are relatively well represented. The Afdak and Main House each have six forms. Str.3 Path has only five forms but a higher frequency of vessels than either the Afdak or Main House.

The F&F Tables include the element of decoration which allows an investigation as to whether particular decoration types can be associated with particular forms. Fig. 5.7 shows the frequency of decoration type related to Form in the whole assemblage. Eleven forms of Tableware and Teaware and eight categories of decoration are listed.

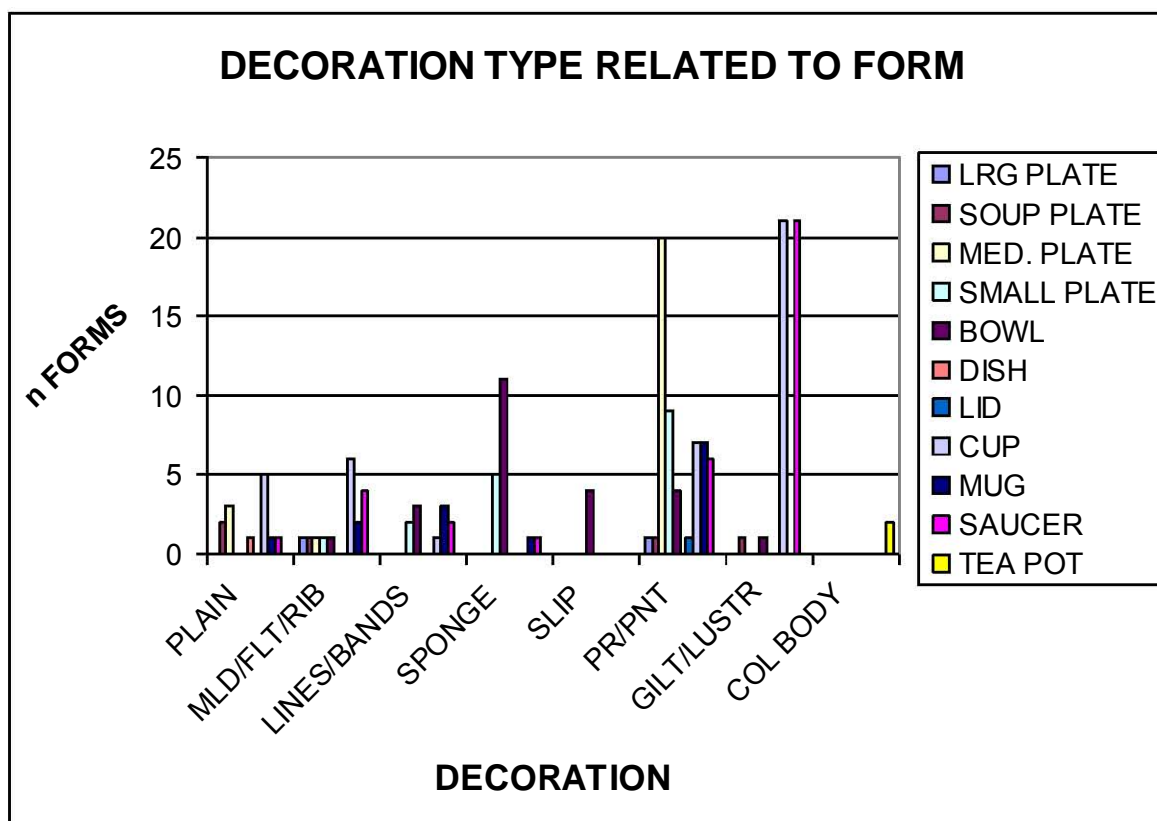


Figure 5.7: Frequency of Decoration Type related to form (MNV=165)

The most outstanding feature of the figure is the significant frequency of gilded cups and saucers. Printed / painted decoration is the most ubiquitous and pertains to nine of the eleven function categories. The most frequent Printed/Painted vessels are medium and small plates. Printed/painted cups, mugs and saucers are also well represented. The plain and fluted/ribbed categories are represented in a variety of forms at low frequency, but cups are most numerous. Lines/bands feature on small plates, bowls, a cup, mugs and a saucer. Sponged decoration occurs on small plates, a mug and a saucer, but bowls are the most frequent. Slipware occurs only on bowls and coloured body only in tea pots.

Therefore, it can be stated that there is a correlation between decoration and forms in the Warmhoek assemblage. Transfer printing occurs frequently on both Tableware and Teaware. Gilding occurs most frequently on cups and saucers. Moulded decorations

and lines or bands are most frequent on mugs and cups. Sponged and slipped decorations are most frequent on bowls.

The high frequencies of transfer printed Tableware and Teaware and of Gilded/Lustre Teaware raises the question of whether there were matched sets among these. This will be examined later.

### *Str. 3 Path*

I first re-examine the preceding Tables and Figures because they have shown that the ceramics from Str. 3 Path, located approximately 300 metres away from the farmhouse, exhibit differences, despite the smaller sample size, when compared with the ceramics from the main farmhouse precinct.

The Str.3 Path W&D Table (App. 5.7) lists 54 ceramic sherds and 15 MNV, an average of 4 sherds per MNV, a low fragmentation ratio. There were nine undiagnostic Khoe earthenware sherds and the remainder of the ceramics is Refined Industrial Ware (RIW). Undecorated sherds were almost as frequent as decorated sherds.

Table 5.11 shows the Wares which are absent / present at Str.3 Path in comparison to the combined farmhouse assemblages. The Table shows that only Undecorated and Decorated British RIW vessels were present at Str.3 Path. There was no Continental European ware, and no coloured bodied ware or stoneware. The percentage ratios of undecorated and decorated vessels at Str.3 Path were similar to that of the farmhouse, i.e. both dwellings had a higher frequency of decorated vessels.

Table 5.11: MNV% for Wares for main house assemblage (GM, Dumps, Afdak, MHS and Str.1 combined), compared to Str. 3. Path.

	MAIN HOUSE		STR. 3 PATH	
	n MNV	% MNV	n MNV	% MNV
Asian Porcelain	2	1.25%	0	0
Undecorated RIW British	27	16.98%	2	13.30%
Decorated RIW British	97	61%	13	86.60%
Decorated Continental European	12	7.57%	0	0
Coloured Body	2	1.25%	0	0
RIW Stoneware	7	4.40%	0	0

Fig. 5.8 shows the frequency of types of decoration at Str. 3 Path. The figure shows that sponge is the most frequent decoration followed by print/paint. Plain vessels and vessels with lines/bands are also present. Gilded, coloured bodied ware and stoneware are, however, absent.

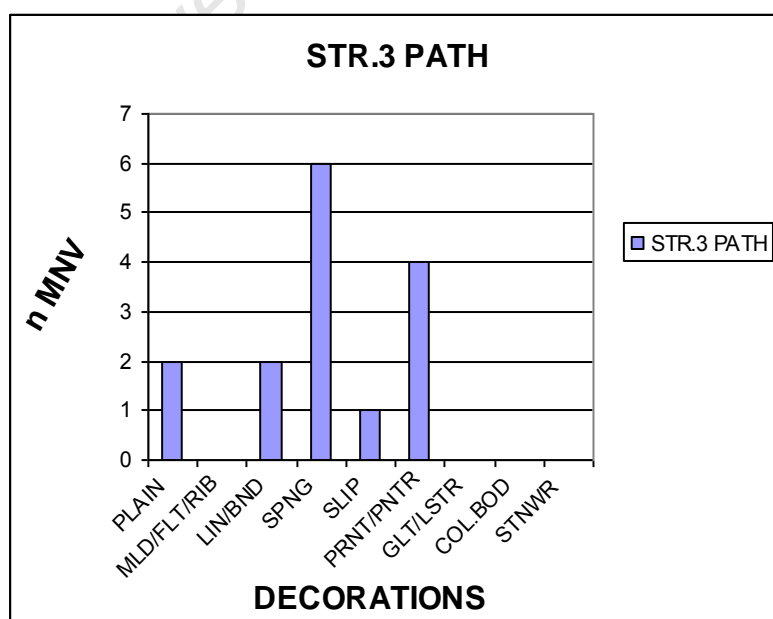


Figure 5.8: Frequency of Decoration Types at Str. 3 Path (MNV=15)

Figure 5.9 analyses the Str.3 Path forms and their decorations. The figure shows that sponged bowls are the most frequent form. Printed/Painted decoration occurs on a similar number of vessels, namely three plates and a bowl. These two decoration types, therefore, appear on vessels associated with food, although a bowl could also be used for drinking. Slipped decoration appears on only one vessel, a bowl. The mug has lines and the cup is plain.

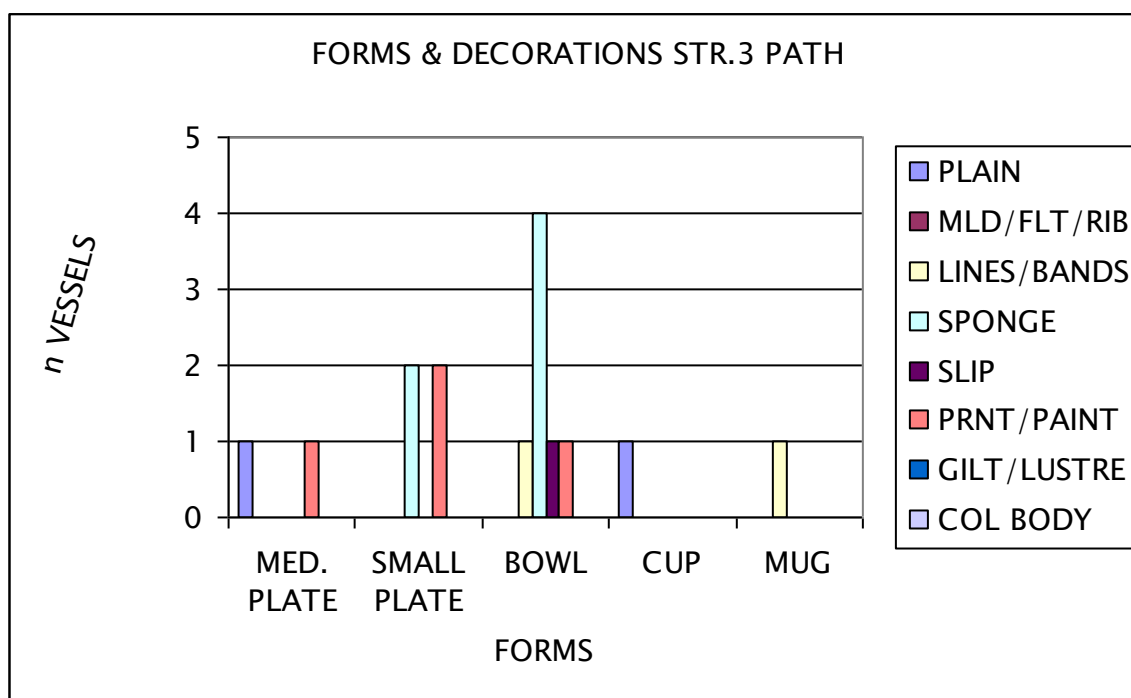


Figure 5.9: Forms and Decoration Type at Str. 3 Path (MNV=15)

There are Tableware and Teaware forms that are present at the main house area, but are absent from Str. 3 Path. These are: large plates, soup plates, dishes, lids, saucers and tea pots. As previously noted, there is no gilded ware at Str.3 Path.

To summarize, the data show that at Str.3 Path the most frequent wares fall into the cheapest categories, and sponged ware is the most frequent. Print/paint is the most costly decoration present.

A further observation to be made, regarding the Str.3 Path ceramics, is that several sherds found there have patterns and / or colours which do not appear in the farmhouse excavations (Table 5.12).

Table 5.12: Patterns and / or colours unique to Str. 3 Path ceramics.

Catalogue number	Description of vessel	Unique feature
Cat. 283	Painted, floral, bowl, blue & green	Harsh colours.
Cat. 284 & 285	Printed, floral plates, one green one red.	Pattern
Cat. 286	Printed, floral, bowl	Colour – Mauve
Cat. 288	Sponged plate, black on yellow with red band; motif	Colours and Motif
Cat. 290	Sponged, bowl, red & green	Pattern
Cat. 291	Sponged, sherd; dark red leaf	Pattern
Cat. 292	Sponged, bowl, blue & red	Pattern
Cat. 289	White-ware mug, 3 fine blue lines	Pattern
Cat. 287	White-ware	Lilac sprig appliqué

Fig.5.10 illustrates a selection of the ceramics referred to in Table 5.12.

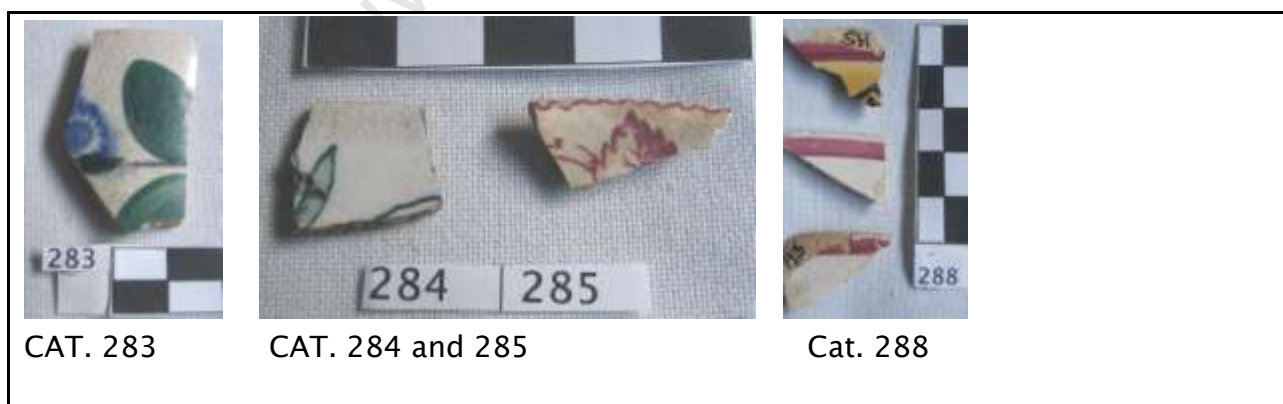




Fig. 5.10. Patterns at Str. 3 Path, not found at Main House.

Given that the Str. 3 Path ceramic sample is small, the frequency of unique ceramics not found in the main house deposits may be significant. This may be another hint that the process of ceramic selection and preference was different. This in turn suggests and contributes to the possibility that the two dwellings may not have been contemporaneously occupied.

Following on from the above observation, as previously noted, there is only one instance of a cross match between Str. 3 Path and the farmhouse deposits. One



footring of a plate from Str. 3 Path matches two similar footrings from Dump 3. These are of the 'Rhine Pattern' design (Cat.67), popular in the mid-nineteenth century as illustrated overleaf (Fig. 11).



Fig. 5.11. 'Rhine' pattern sherds.

It is difficult to interpret this single instance, apart from noting the relatively early date of manufacture of the vessel compared to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century dates suggested for the rest of the assemblage. However, the lilac sprig appliqué, also referred to above was also popular in the mid-nineteenth century and their occurrence together at Str.3 Path hints that this deposit may pre-date those of the farmhouse.

Additionally, the predominance of sponged decoration and of bowls, the paucity of Teaware, and the presence of ceramics with patterns and colours not seen in the main house ceramic sample suggest that Str. 3 Path has a slightly different ceramic mix compared to the rest of the assemblage. If this is correct then these observations support my argument, developed in the previous chapter, that Str. 3 Path was occupied

before the Warmhoek farmhouse was built and that its occupants were people who used a more limited and slightly different range of forms compared to those of the house. There may therefore be a social distance between Str.3 Path and the farmhouse which echoes the spatial and temporal disconnectedness already recorded and suggested between the two dwellings. Had there been social interaction between the two dwellings, in the form of a labourer and master relationship, a greater similarity between their ceramic assemblages could be expected. This has recently been shown by Abigail Moffett to be the case at a late nineteenth century farm complex near to Loxton in the Northern Cape (Moffett 2010:73). There the labourers' ceramic assemblage, in all of its attributes, cannot be separated from the ceramics from the dump associated with the farm owner's house.

#### *Tableware and Teaware acquisition and 'setness'*

I now return to the question as to whether there were sets of Tableware and Teaware in the Warmhoek assemblage given the high frequency of printed plates, printed cups and saucers, and gilded cups and saucers. The question is relevant because of the distinction between the formal acquisition and use of Tableware or Teaware sets in contrast to the acquisition and use of mismatched and uncoordinated Tableware. An aspect of a householder's use of matched dinner and tea services is unquestionably social. The possession of matched sets underpins firstly the economic capacity of a household to purchase them and, secondly, their use underpins a certain amount of formal display, in that it signals status to people who are visiting from outside that household. Another aspect of the use of matched sets is that social interactions on occasions when matched sets are in use are also occasions at which social relations, hierarchies, inclusions and exclusions are mediated, brokered, reinforced and perhaps broken (Winer 1994). Matched sets are configured to work beyond the boundaries of

individual households. It is for these broad reasons that I investigate this possibility in the Warmhoek assemblage.

Figure 5.7 above showed that there are twenty printed medium plates, seven printed cups and six printed saucers and twenty-one each of gilded cups and saucers in the Warmhoek assemblage.

Sets, by definition, are made up of a number of units which look similar in form and decoration. Identically matched sets were marketed in South Africa via the annual catalogues of trading companies such as Thorne & Stuttford who advertised enamelled and gilded forty-piece tea sets for £16.6s. in 1895 (Klose & Malan 2007:160 {Fig.433}). However, the separate acquisition of vessels of similar design and colour, which might even have been produced by different manufacturers at different times, is another way of creating a 'set'. Therefore, a distinction can be made between a set of identically matched vessels and a set based on similarity of appearance.

### *Sets in Teaware*

We have seen (Table 5.10) that Teaware makes up the largest percentage (52%) of the main farmhouse ceramics, and, therefore, I now turn to this Teaware in an effort to explore the possible presence of tea sets. Table 5.13 below is a list of British Teaware. The Catalogue Number of the vessels, the group number I have assigned to them (based on their decoration) for the purpose of this analysis, and their form, are given.

Table 5.13: RIW (British) Teaware Forms and Decorations; identification of criteria for sets based on identical matching or similarity.

R I W (BRITISH) TEAWARE		
CAT. NO.	GROUP NO. and DECORATIVE FEATURE	VESSELS <i>Similar</i> or <b>Match</b>
9	1 Gilt Line – single	9 cups <i>Similar</i>
10 & 297	2 Gilt – Shamrock pattern	2 saucers <b>Match</b>
37	3 Gilt line – single	1 saucer One cup handle <b>Match</b>
77 – 86	4 Gilt line – single	9 cups One small plate <i>Similar</i>
88–95, 150–151	5 Gilt line – single	8 saucers <i>Similar</i>
96	6 Gilt lines – double	1 saucer
148 to 149	7 Gilt line above footring	2 cups <i>Similar</i>
92 & 93	17 Gilt lines – triple	1 saucer <i>Similar</i>
32	9 Floral, brown print, fluted	1 saucer <i>Similar</i> to Cat. 74
74	10 Floral – ‘dog roses’, brown print, fluted	1 cup <i>Similar</i> to 32
76	12 Pink & Black, Bands & floral	2 mugs 2 small plates <b>Match</b>

The Table shows that several groups of British Teaware with similar decoration could be identified and that there were also similarities of decoration in common between some groups. Some of the abovementioned ceramics are illustrated in Figure 5.12.



Fig. 5.12. British Teaware decoration.

There are several groups of vessels with gilt lines. Some groups have only one line; others have two or three lines. There is only one instance (Cat. 37) of a matching gilded cup handle and saucer. This was based on their distinctive cream coloured ware. There are five similar floral, brown (single colour) printed vessels, including a cup and a saucer, some of which show the 'dogrose' design. There are four vessels

(two cups, two saucers) with pink and black bands (Cat.76) and they are matching. Thus, British tea sets at Warmhoek can be identified by the presence of two or more vessels which have gilt lines, or by similar printed patterns in the same colour, or by similar bands of colour.

The Teaware has the added interest in that it is made up, not only of British RIW, but also of vessels of Continental European origin, as has been shown by makers' marks. Continental European cheap porcelain was mass produced for export from the late nineteenth century onwards (Klose 2007:51), and probably arrived in South Africa via England, at that time. There is a likely example in Cat. 68 with the pattern name, 'Victoria' (Table 5.13). There is also a saucer and cup of Japanese manufacture which may have arrived via England. While a number of the Continental European wares have been identified by maker's marks, as already described, I have identified others by the quality of ware and style of decoration. The descriptions of these vessels are given in Table 5.14.

Table 5.14: Continental European & Japanese Teaware sherds: decoration and form of vessels.

CAT. NO	SHERDS	DECORATION	VESSEL F& F
1. Holland, Maastricht: "...etrus Regout & Co. Maastricht" "Made in Holland" Mark: Lion reclining facing left. "Toko" (Design name)	59 (24 rims, 5 footrings, remainder undiagnostic).	Print, floral, brown, orange & buff, lustre. Maker's mark	3 saucers, 2 drinking bowls, i.e. no handles.
12. Early 20 <sup>th</sup> century (Ref. Klose 2007. Illus. 431)	3 rims	Band (broad), pink, & lustre.	1 saucer
13. Early 20 <sup>th</sup> century (Ref. Klose 2007. Illus. 432.)	1	Band (broad), pink, at rim & 3 gilt lines below, fluted, lustre	1 cup
87. Early 20 <sup>th</sup> century (Ref. Klose 2007. Illus.431.	1 rim	Lustre, band, shimmers pink/green.	1 saucer
31. Austria or Germany: " ... DEIN" and a motif	4 rims	Bands, amber & black & design. Maker's mark	1 saucer or small plate
63. Austria: "...tria" under a crown	1 base	Paint, polychrome. Maker's mark	1 small plate
68. Czechoslovakia: "VICTORIA" over a crown; "Czacko-Sl..." under the crown. The pattern name suggests this vessel was made for the British market.	1 rim & 1 base	Print, green ribbon and gilt edge. Maker's mark	1 plate S

CAT. NO	SHERDS	DECORATION	VESSEL F& F
71 & 310	1 rim (hollow) 1 undiagnostic and 2 rims with brown edge only; all very fine	Bands, faded orange/pink & blue	2 hollow
72	4 sherds, undiagnostic, but 3 fitted	Print, floral, polychrome, pink, green.	1 hollow
197. “Maastricht. Made in Holland”. Hindquarter of lion, standing, facing left	1 base	No decoration	Base of small plate
226	1 rim	Painted, floral, gilded & lustre	1 hollow (sugar bowl ?)
276	3 footrings	Printed, polychrome, floral	1 dish S/M
66. Japanese (per Jane Klose personal communication)	1 hollow, 2 rims, 2 footrings 2 undiagnostic	Print, red & green, landscape scene with buildings	1 bowl 1 small plate

Only the five vessels of Cat.1 “Toko” from Continental Europe match each other perfectly and, as can be seen in Figure 5.13, they are clearly part of an identical set.



Fig. 5.13. “Toko” design Teaware from Maastricht, Holland.



The 59 sherds suggest a rather substantial Tea set but few sherds could be refitted. In terms of ware, these vessels resemble British RIW Teaware. They may have been manufactured for the British market.

Most of the remainder of the Warmhoek Continental European Teaware is made up of highly vitrified porcelain vessels from Germany or Austria, as illustrated in Figure 5.14.



Fig. 5.14. Continental European Teaware, floral and with bands.

There is only one example of each pattern. Bands and floral designs do not seem to appear together on the same vessel. The three vessels shown in Fig. 5.15 which have pink bands and other decorative features (Cat.12, Cat.13 and Cat.87) are very different from each other in appearance; the bands, the pink colour and use of lustre being the common denominators. They date to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Klose 2007:52).

Based on fineness of ware, the prevalence of bands, lustre and polychrome colouring, and their non-British provenance, I suggest that this group of Continental European teaware can also be seen as a set. They appear more vitreous and whiter than the British wares and are thinner bodied, 3mm or less. The quality of the print is sharp and

the colours very clear. Most of the sherds are very small and it has not been possible to identify their forms other than to say that they are flat or hollow.



Fig. 5.15. Continental European Teaware with pink bands.

None of these vessels strike me as being sufficiently robust to be Tableware and therefore, despite the above limitations, I consider that all these Continental European forms are Teaware. While there is clearly a lack of detailed similarity of vessels, I argue that their 'otherness' in itself constitutes 'setness' which defines them as an entity.

The Japanese vessels (Fig. 5.16) are very different in appearance from anything else in the assemblage; they are highly vitrified and the printed decoration is predominantly linear with overpainted daubs of red and green colour.



Fig. 5.16. Japanese Teaware

The gilt line, so prevalent in British teaware, is entirely absent from the non-British Teaware.

*Summary: Teasets*

The above data suggests that there are two types of decoration on the Warmhoek Continental European Teaware: either polychoured floral (5 examples) or coloured bands (7 examples). Floral decorations and bands do not appear on the same vessels. Seven of the above examples are also lustred.

I therefore identify 4 sets of Teaware in the assemblage: the gilded British RIW set, the British brown floral 'dogrose' set, the "Toko" identically matched set from Holland and the 'collection' of Teaware from Continental Europe and Japan. The thick bodied British

pair of cups and saucers with pink and black bands (Cat. 76) are cheaper wares than those in the above sets.

### *Sets in Tableware*

I now look for sets in the Tableware. Table 5.15 lists the colour, decoration, and forms and frequency of groups of similar vessels with a view to exploring whether there are sets. The sample, however, is small.

Table 5.15: RIW Tableware by colour, decoration and form.

CAT. NO.	COLOUR	DECORATION	SOUP/ SERVING/ LID	PLATE S/M/L	BOWL
3	Blue, pale	Print, floral <i>Similar</i>	1 serving, oval	1 M/L	
5	Blue-green	Print, floral "Hyde Park"	1 soup	2 M/L	
6	Blue	Print, floral "Brazil" <b>Match</b>		2	
138	Green & blue	Sponge, fern leaves <b>Match</b>		1 S/M	1
139	Red & Green	Sponge <b>Match</b>		1 S/M	1

Cat. Nos. 3, 5 and 6 (Fig. 5.17) are all single colour printed white ware plates in shades of blue and blue-green. Their designs are very different from each other. There are two vessels in Cat.3, three vessels in Cat.5, and two vessels in Cat.6. The two plates in Cat.6 appear to be a factory made identical match; and each plate has the J & M P Bell & Co. maker's mark.



CAT. 3

CAT. 6



CAT. 5

CAT. 5

Fig. 5.17. Blue and white printed Tableware.

In addition to these blue and white examples, there is one printed plate in green which may have been part of a set, or was singly acquired (Fig. 5.18).



CAT. 2

Fig. 5.18. Green printed plate

I therefore suggest that Cat. Nos. 3, 5 and 6 are sets. Whether they were contemporaneously used by the same owner, or successively used by different owners, is not known. At the very least, these wares, used together, would give the impression of a set. Furthermore, there are additional single examples of blue plates (Cat. 7 and Cat. 8) which could have been added to this mix (Fig. 5.19).



Fig. 5.19. Blue and white printed plates.

There are two sponged Tableware vessels each in Cat. Nos. 138 and 139. They are red and green floral and could similarly have been used together (Fig. 5.20).



Fig. 5.20. Sponged Tableware

There are, however, numerous unmatched individual vessels in the Assemblage. In Teaware, there are 7 printed cups, 7 printed mugs and 6 printed saucers as well as 18 similar vessels in the cheaper decorative categories. In Tableware, there are 25 printed forms and 36 forms in the cheaper decorated categories. This part of the assemblage is a miscellany of individually assembled and mismatched Tea and Tableware pieces against which 'setness' could be interrogated.

*Summary : Tableware sets*

To summarize, despite the small sample, there is evidence that sets of Tableware were used at the Warmhoek farmhouse.

*Summary : 'Setness'*

The sets fall into the more costly printed and gilded categories of ware and this suggests that an 'economic effort' was made to acquire them and that choices were made as regards decoration. The choice of single colour decoration for these wares suggests greater formality than the multicoloured, more organic appearance of sponged plates and bowls (Winer & Deetz 1990:57). The gilded Teaware set(s), in particular, increase the formal appearance by eliminating all colour and all organic reference, except for the gilded shamrock motif. The European Continental Teaware is formal in a different way. Although colour and polycolour vessels are present, the fine quality of the ware, the elegance of the bands and ribbons and the frequency of lustre and gilt leave no doubt that these are part of the family's 'best' Teaware. There is no evidence whatsoever of sets at Str. 3 Path. Once again, while the samples are small, this does add to the list of distinctions drawn between it and the main house.

## DISCUSSION

Currently there is no comparative study of late-nineteenth ceramics in a rural context in the Western Cape. Consequently, I compare the Warmhoek assemblage with the mid-nineteenth ceramic assemblage of Salem village in the Eastern Cape in order to place it within the context of Historical Archaeology studies in South Africa. I refer to Margot Winer's doctoral thesis for this purpose (Winer 1994). Winer specifically studied the archaeology of the 1820 English Settlers in the Eastern Cape and her main focus was on the architectural sequence between about 1830 and the 1860's. One of her architectural case studies was a complex domestic dwelling, The Hall, just outside Salem. This single house developed over much of the nineteenth century and combined several modern elements of Georgian architecture, but in an uncoordinated and additive manner. Crudely, the house captured an ambivalent 1820 Settler mindset that, on the outside, displayed elements of modernity, but on the inside alluded to older values in response to the continual anxiety generated by the frontier wars between the Cape Colony and the Xhosa.

Margot Winer complemented the main architectural component of her thesis with an analysis of surface collections of ceramics and those excavated from a domestic dump behind The Hall (Winer 1994:279). Winer compared the Salem ceramics with those of New England (America) as part of a study which sought to understand expressions of British material culture in the Colonies (Winer 1990:55). Winer did not detail her methods of analysis and no photographs were included. Her discussion of the Salem ceramics is limited to six pages of text.



Despite this comparison, it is important to note that there are significant differences in the contexts which generated the Salem and the Warmhoek assemblages. Firstly, Salem was occupied approximately half a century before the farm which became Warmhoek appeared in the archival records. Secondly, Salem was predominantly an 1820 British Settler village of numerous households whereas Warmhoek in contrast, was a single farm complex with a main house and a small dwelling. Moreover, Warmhoek was situated on the outskirts of a small town which had a predominantly Afrikaner agricultural community in which a small number of descendants of Irish 1820 Settlers played an influential role. Probably, as suggested earlier, Warmhoek was occupied by Afrikaners.

Salem's Settlers farmed on a frontier contested, at that time, by Xhosa-speaking agriculturists and indigenous populations of the Cape Colony. In the Clanwilliam area on the other hand, in the late nineteenth century, the descendants of indigenous populations and slaves had all but lost their hold on the land.

Over time Salem's architecture came to express a re-invention of British agrarian life with an overlay of orderly Georgian values whereas Warmhoek's farmhouse harked back to the longhouse style of the trekboer. Salem's houses had been added on to and altered over time, whereas the Warmhoek house was formally conceived as a complete entity which would not require additions.

Despite these distinctions, Winer's study highlights several themes concerning the relationship between house form and ceramic assemblage as reflections of the mindset of the occupants. Two of these, namely house construction and 'setness' in ceramics, have already been touched upon in this study.

From Winer's text I have summarized her observations regarding wares and decorations of Salem ceramics and juxtaposed them with my observations of Warmhoek ceramics (Appendix 5.16). Winer listed only Decorated RIW Table and Teaware. Undecorated white ware and wares with moulded, fluted and ribbed decoration and decorations such as lines and bands, which were all recorded at Warmhoek, are not mentioned by Winer. The sponged and slipware bowls she recorded at Salem in 'high proportion' make up only 16% (28 MNV) and 2.2% (4 MNV) respectively of the Warmhoek assemblage from the main house precinct and Str. 3 Path combined (174 MNV) and of these, 9% (16 MNV) are sponged vessels from Str. 3 Path.

At Warmhoek, as at Salem, sets of Tableware and Teaware could be identified by decoration and their frequency was also comparable. At both sites, tea sets were more frequent than dinner sets. At Warmhoek, RIW gilded white ware cups and saucers were most frequent and formed set(s) based on similarity. A brown single colour printed set was present. Interestingly, at Warmhoek, the only identical Teaware set (Cat. 1) was manufactured in Maastricht, Holland and a miscellany of Teaware from Continental Europe was also present. In contrast, at Salem, no non-British ceramics were mentioned by Winer. Flow blue Teaware dominated there and gilded white bodied Teaware was minimal. In Tableware, in both assemblages, there were fewer sets and they were mostly based on similarity and most frequently were blue and white. In both assemblages, additional blue and white Tableware, though not perfectly matching, if they were used together, could be seen on the table as sets.

The difference that can be seen between the flow blue Teaware at Salem and the gilded white ware at Warmhoek, does not represent a change in material culture, but can be attributed to factors of availability, affordability and preference, i.e. a change of style

over time. Of greater importance in this comparison is the common occurrence of sets of Tableware and Teaware in both assemblages, and the social implications of this.

As regards the interpretation of her assemblage, Winer sees a restricted colour range of blue and white sets of Table and Teaware as an indication of a “genteel, more controlled and socially different way of serving and eating food from individual plates” (Winer 1994:281). The Warmhoek farmhouse assemblage has a similar signature, particularly manifest in the gilded Teaware. There is a difference in the small Str.3 Path sample in which teaware is represented by only two vessels and in which the most frequent wares are the colourful sponged bowls which Winer might have associated with an “earlier tradition of public, corporate, shared life” (Winer 1994:278). However, at Warmhoek, in contrast to Salem, no progression from an earlier tradition to a modern style can be interpreted because the earlier Str.3 Path occupants were not the same people as those of the farmhouse.

Nor is the presence at Warmhoek main farmhouse of a ceramic assemblage that is broadly similar to that of Salem necessarily an indicator of a continuity of British culture in South Africa. The Salem community consisted of British immigrants and their descendants whereas I have shown that the occupants of the large Warmhoek house were probably Afrikaners whose cultural inheritance was therefore Dutch as opposed to British. The appearance of British ceramics at Warmhoek is more a factor of availability than emulation as British ceramics were still being imported into the Colony and there was no local production of household ceramics until the 1920's.

## Summary

The majority of the Warmhoek ceramics were found in association with the large farmhouse and a small sample was recovered from the interior of a small separate dwelling. The ceramics of the farmhouse ranged from the cheapest undecorated white ware to the more costly Printed/ Painted and Gilded/ Lustre wares although none were expensive high quality wares. Analysis has shown that at the farmhouse there were sets of British printed Tableware and Teaware and well as a British set (or sets) of gilded white Teaware. In addition, there was Teaware of Continental European manufacture, and the only identically matched tea set was made in Holland.

Although it is small, the Str.3 Path sample was of a different mix. There were no sets of any kind and gilded white ware was absent altogether.

While the acquisition of individual Teaware and Tableware vessels fulfills basic practical needs, the acquisition of sets is effective in terms of display. Sets reflect, in Binford's terms (Binford 1962), a socio-technic choice that conveys messages about the economic status and social standing of their owners. Tea-drinking had, by the end of the nineteenth century, become a common practice at all levels of society in the British colonies (Winer 1994:280–281), yet it retained its symbolic potential as a conveyor of socio-economic messages when tea was served in sets of cups and saucers which appeared more costly than those informally used on a daily basis.

I suggest that the presence of matched Teaware at the Warmhoek farmhouse underpins the formal nature of tea-drinking that gave opportunities for display and the mediation of local social networks. Possibly, this focus lay predominantly in the domain of

women because, usually, it is the housewife, in her capacity as homemaker, who wishes to make a good social impression and she can do this by signaling the position of the family within the community by the display of material possessions (Winer 1994: 280–281). Sets therefore can speak of the rôle of women in interacting, in a broad social context outside the immediate family, with people who would be similarly aware of the symbolic value of sets.

This social aspect of tea-drinking may also be compatible, at Warmhoek, with the spatial organisation of the house itself. I have noted that the house, a vernacular longhouse in form, was built in a modern, pre-planned way and, more specifically, that the kitchen is very small compared to the large size of the kitchens in true longhouses. At Warmhoek, therefore, the kitchen could not be the focus of social interaction. This may indicate that the woman of the house spent less time there and that servants were employed there. In contrast, the room interpreted as a living- and eating-room is uncommonly large and is formally disconnected from the small kitchen. The living room therefore is far more likely to have served as the focus for social interaction at Warmhoek.

In short, I suggest that the Warmhoek main house plan and the Warmhoek teaset speak of occupants who had attained, and who maintained, a certain identity and status in the (Afrikaner) community of Clanwilliam.

The Str.3 Path dwelling provides an important contrast with the main house that is probably due both to its slightly earlier date, but more so to the occupation of Titus and September. These men had tried to change their economic and social status but had been marginalized in their efforts by the local white Dutch community. The

relative material scale of the Warmhoek main house, erected after the departure of Titus and September, speaks volumes about the success of that marginalization.

## CHAPTER 6 – DISCUSSION

The Warmhoek farmhouse was undoubtedly, and still is today, the most prominent feature of the property. Its solitary position in the landscape and its substantial size immediately raised the question as to why it had been built on this small, out-of-the-way, out-of-sight and unseen farm. There was speculation that its owner-occupant had either chosen for personal reasons to live apart from society or had been outcast. Indeed, there are no neighbouring structures to be seen. The sense of isolation of the property was increased by an apparent lack of any access road. Despite its recessed position and its location on a small insubstantial property, the building is large and well-built and would have required a substantial monetary outlay.

The design of the building also raised questions about the mindset of the builder. In appearance, it is a longhouse, but it is evident that the construction of its four exterior walls was a single building event and not built in the 'organic' add-on fashion of dynastic longhouses of the Sandveld and the local houses of Middel Kraal and Hollandse Bos. The five-roomed house appears too large for the small farm which it commanded, located on a narrow strip of land between the Jan Dissels River and the rocky cliff; it appears ambiguous, but the documented history provides some contextual that underpins that ambiguity.

Compared to the main house, the ruins of the agrarian structures have a different appearance. They consist mainly of foundations only or of a few courses of stone. They are less well preserved than the farmhouse and the stones that made up their walling have in some cases been entirely removed. This raised the question of their stratigraphic and temporal relationship to the house. One structure was, on

excavation, identified as a separate dwelling and this too, raised questions about its relationship to the large house.

At face value, Inspection Reports by Government Surveyors in the mid-1890's failed to mention the presence of structures and therefore implied that they are more recent than this date. However, it was subsequently established that, for the purpose of the valuation of Crown land to be sold, 'improvements' were not required to be taken into account. The fact, therefore, that no structures were noted at that time, does not mean that there were none. Archaeological work was able to correct this face-value impression.

The fundamental questions remaining, therefore, were the relative sequence of construction of the structures and the identities of the owners, builders and occupants of the Warmhoek farm and its dwellings. In particular, the date of construction of the large farmhouse and the identity of its owner and occupier(s) was a central question to be answered by means of historical research, archaeological excavation and ceramic analysis.

As we have seen in Chapters 2 and 3, the documents were able to clarify that Platberg B was a portion of a much larger piece of Crown Land, Lot 1320, which was leased to an Irish Settler descendant, Ben Foster, from 1873 to 1894. In 1873, this property shared boundaries with the Rhenish Mission Station, Augsburg, with the farm Taaiboschkraal and with Boskloof (Jan Dissels River 270) owned by the Nieuwoudt family. In 1874 Augsburg was acquired by Dirk van Zyl. The Rev. Smit moved to Clanwilliam town and



established the new Mission Station, now St. Stephan's, in the part of town now known as Cederville, located at the east end of the village, north of the old Cape road and adjacent to the Commonage. At this time, the only large areas of open Crown land at Clanwilliam were the village Commonage and a piece of outspan land, used by residents of the town (Nell 1997:23–24). Lot 1320 also abutted the Clanwilliam Commonage.

I have previously argued that during the 1870s and 1880s the Foster family kept small livestock and produced and threshed grains on the farm and built all the structures necessary to these activities, but that they did not build the main farmhouse. In 1889, when his lease still had nearly five years to run, Ben Foster sub-let Lot 1320 to Frans September and Petrus Titus whom I have identified as coloured members of the St. Stephan's Mission parish at Clanwilliam.

By this time, Dirk van Zyl of Augsburg had become a successful commercial farmer and a prominent member of Clanwilliam society; he was its Representative in the Cape Parliament. The Nieuwoudt family too continued their extensive farming activities at Boskloof. One cannot help speculating on the reaction of these neighbouring farmers to this change of circumstances. When September and Titus occupied the land as employees of Ben Foster, as I have suggested, the Van Zyls and Nieuwoudts may not have been disturbed by their presence and activities because the lease holder was a white man of social standing in Clanwilliam. However, when September and Titus became sub-tenants, these Afrikaners may well have been disturbed by this turn of events. Four years later, these families may even have been displeased with the Irish settler who supported his sub-tenants' application to purchase Lot 1320 from the Crown. I argue, therefore, that the sub-lease to descendants of slaves is the pivotal

event in the history of the property, the ripple effects of which prompted the construction of the farmhouse on Warmhoek.

September and Titus left it rather late to apply to purchase Lot 1320 as Foster's lease had only a few months left to run, and it seems they were not well advised as to how to go about it. The law (Section 18 Act 15 of 1887) allowed a lessee of Crown land to purchase the leased property at any time, but a sub-tenant could not apply to do so. The local Divisional Council had set the price at £125 and this suggests that they may have been sympathetic to the application by September and Titus. They must have been aware of the legal formula by which a selling price was calculated. By the time Foster applied, apparently with the intention of later selling it to September and Titus, they found the price had doubled, as per the legal formula, and Foster did not go through with the purchase. Probably September and Titus could not afford this price. It is reasonable to assume that the Surveyor General had no choice but to require that the price be calculated as the law required, but one cannot help wondering if the Representative for Clanwilliam in the Cape Parliament, Dirk van Zyl, and the Surveyor-General were acquainted with each other and might have had a conversation about the applications to purchase Lot 1320.

After the expiry of Foster's lease in January 1894, Dirk van Zyl and the two Nieuwoudts in fact applied to purchase Lot 1320 in accordance with Section 14 Act 15 of 1887 as it was contiguous to their farms. Although we can never know, we might question whether these farmers would have applied to purchase this piece of land if the previous applicants had been white Afrikaners, like themselves. It may be that Van Zyl and the Nieuwoudts application, based on the fact that they were contiguous owners, was

intended to pre-empt the possibility that September and Titus might yet bid to purchase Lot 1320 if it was auctioned, as was legally required for the sale of Crown land. However, Rev. Leipoldt appealed to the authorities on behalf of the villagers to add Lot 1320 to the Commonage. He argued that there was not sufficient winter grazing on the existing Commonage to meet the villagers' needs and that 'this mountain' (i.e. Platberg) was the only place where villagers could collect firewood which was difficult to obtain from farmers. These arguments carry significant sub-texts: firstly that the villagers who objected to the sale of Lot 1320 were landless people, i.e. they did not own farmland, and secondly that the villagers had become dependent on collecting firewood on this land, implying that they had free access. It is my impression that the villagers referred to are in fact members of the coloured community and that the sub-tenants of Lot 1320, September and Titus, as members of this community, had been tolerant of these practices and possibly profited from them.

Leipoldt's appeal was successful. The authorities showed a degree of sympathy with the pleas of the villagers and decided not to auction Lot 1320 to the highest bidder but to transfer most of it, i.e. Platberg A, to the Forestry Department with the proviso that villagers be allowed to collect firewood there. The Afrikaner farmers, Dirk van Zyl and the Nieuwoudts, were therefore deprived of the opportunity to acquire Lot 1320.

Van Zyl, as we have seen, was granted Platberg B, on the north bank of the Jan Dissels River, but he is unlikely to have regarded this property with its limited agrarian capacity as a worthwhile acquisition. Therefore, the 1896 construction of a multi-roomed family home is an anomaly. I suggest that its construction was not prompted by practical considerations, such as a need for accommodation, but that it was constructed for symbolic purposes: to be a visible reminder to the villagers gathering

firewood – and perhaps to Ben Foster, September and Titus and the Rev. Leipoldt as well – that Platberg B was the private property of a person of material, social and political status in Clanwilliam. Without this prominent farmhouse, and its occupation by people, probably Afrikaners, approved by its owner, Dirk van Zyl, there would have been no clearly visible means of distinguishing Platberg B from Platberg A which, from 1896 onwards, was apparently used as an extension of the Clanwilliam Commonage, and may well have been used as such before that date.

As regards the style of the Warmhoek farm house, I have indicated above, that it was initially taken to be a longhouse but closer examination led to the conclusion that it does not fulfill this definition for reasons which I have previously noted. I have suggested that this style may have been modelled on the longhouses on Middel Kraal and Holland se Bos on Boskloof, and on Van Zyl's own house at Augsburg. The design of the house therefore suggests that it was a late nineteenth century contextual variation on the transverse longhouse theme built as a once-off construction, not incrementally extended and elaborated on a needs basis.

The building of the farmhouse marks the beginning of the third phase of the occupation of Warmhoek. The question arises as to who occupied the new house and whether it was built with its prospective occupant in mind. Dirk van Zyl's biography indicates that he never lived there himself. While it is reasonable to suggest that his sons may have done so, their biographies do not strongly support this hypothesis. The finds at Warmhoek suggest that the house was occupied by families, and Paul and Pieter van Zyl would have been bachelors at the time. The biographical histories of the eight daughters of Dirk van Zyl are unknown.

There is a possibility that the farmhouse was occupied by Nieuwoudts or Vissers (married into the Nieuwoudt family) of Boskloof as there are several indications that this extended family had associations with Warmhoek. Firstly, we know that Jan Harmse Nieuwoudt had been interested in acquiring Lot 1320, but it does not appear likely that he lived there himself. Secondly, the first and second wives of the third owner, Frans Truter, were Nieuwoudt sisters, daughters of the Nieuwoudts of Boskloof. They were related to Jan Harmse Nieuwoudt via a common ancestor, as indeed, was Truter's eldest child, Bettie van Dyk, who was the housewife at Platberg B from approximately 1918 to 1927. Bettie grew up on Boskloof, where her maternal grandparents were still living when she was at Warmhoek. She and her husband, Martin van Dyk, between them had relatives who were also socially prominent in Clanwilliam. Jan Harmse Nieuwoudt himself served on the Dutch Reformed Church's Council in 1926 with Martin's elder brother, Abraham ('Appie') van Dyk and their brother-in-law J. J. Louw (Feeskomitee (a) 1926:19). This was the centenary year of the Church and Martin and Bettie commemorated this in a middle name of their firstborn son, Jacques Gideon Centus, who died in infancy and is buried at Boskloof.

As the identity of the occupants of Warmhoek cannot be determined, we refer to the signature of the ceramic assemblage for their general profile. It is clear from the documents that the material culture we are examining is that of people who are unlikely to have seen themselves as British colonial subjects, although they may have been so by law. We are dealing with South Africans whose mixed cultural inheritance is embedded in the history of the Cape in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. The ceramics of Warmhoek may be of British manufacture, but at Warmhoek they were not used by British people. Their interpretative value is not their British manufacture but in how they were used.

At Warmhoek farmhouse, inexpensive, multi-coloured, sponged vessels and slipwares are present together with single-colour printed plates and teaware as well as gilded teaware. There is no evidence of a sequence indicating a change over time from cheaper wares associated with an earlier occupation period to more costly printed and gilded wares of a later occupation. It is more reasonable to assume that they are contemporaneous, i.e. that a succession of occupants had similar collections of crockery including cheaper and more costly wares, particularly if they were from the same cultural background and of the same social class. At most, one could suggest the possibility that cheaper wares were used for informal meals and that printed plates were used for more formal meals. The frequency of gilded and other tea sets found at the farmhouse indicates that social tea-drinking out of 'best cups' was a popular and regular occurrence at Warmhoek. As we have seen, tea-drinking at the Cape has its origins in the seventeenth century and is not exclusive to the British colonial period. However, during the nineteenth century it became a common social practice. The teasetts of Warmhoek, which may have belonged to a succession of housewives, were not intrinsically expensive, but they do not need to be so to tell us that the wives of Warmhoek were actively aware of being socially-connected people. The ceramic assemblage of the farmhouse therefore undermines earlier assumptions that the Warmhoek occupants were socially isolated.

The ceramic signature of the second small dwelling is different from that of the farmhouse. Colourful sponged and printed wares are the most numerous in the forms of plates and bowls and there are no gilded wares and no sets. These ceramics suggest communal, informal food ways and occupation by people of a different social group from the people of the farmhouse. The presence of numerous sherds with designs which are not found at the farmhouse also indicates that there was no connection

between the two dwellings, supporting the hypothesis that the cottage pre-dates the construction of the farmhouse.

It appears that crockery was relatively easy to acquire in Clanwilliam from local shopkeepers and itinerant traders. The Foster family had a shop on the main road in Clanwilliam opposite the family home and Ben Foster's elder brothers travelled the countryside trading and selling goods (pers. comm. Jeanne Heywood). An account by Albert Jackson, a Jewish immigrant who kept a trading store in the Prieska area in the late nineteenth century, records that "Nearly all storekeepers were financed by coastal wholesale firms (which) stocked every possible commodity for the country customer. ... In their large Cape carts, drawn by four horses or mules, commercial travellers from Port Elizabeth and Cape Town regularly visited the Platteland" (Rosenthal 1958:47). Other sources record the names of 'smouse' (Jewish itinerant traders) who were active, inter alia, in Clanwilliam, Klawer, Van Rhynsdorp and Piketberg (S A Friends of Beth Hatefutsoth:2004). It is therefore likely that much of the Warmhoek assemblage was acquired from these sources.

The acquisition of the undated Continental European teaware is less clear but its presence in the Warmhoek assemblage lends weight to the impression that valued ceramics were carefully curated. I speculate that the teaware from Maastricht may have been made for the British market and could have reached a Cape warehouse in that way. Jane Klose records that European porcelain "becomes more common (on Cape sites)...following the mass production and export of cheap porcelain from continental Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries" (Klose 2007:54).

The floor plan of Warmhoek itself may suggest an emphasis on formality in taking meals and tea-drinking. In an exploration of the concept of 'cultural space'

(Paterson:2003) it is suggested that, compared with a number of Strandveld longhouses, the relative dimensions of the Warmhoek farmhouse kitchen is atypically small. It would appear that the unusually small kitchen was deliberately planned as a food preparation and storage area only and was not intended to accommodate the serving of meals beyond the immediate resident family. In contrast, the sitting room ('voorkamer') is more than twice its size and has an external doorway by which visitors might be received directly into this room where refreshments might be offered to them. One can imagine colourful British printed ceramics on the dining table, white and gold cups and saucers on the tea table and perhaps Continental European pieces on display.

To date there is no other contemporary ceramic assemblage in the wider region of Clanwilliam with which to compare that of Warmhoek. The earlier Eastern Cape assemblage from Salem has been useful in raising ideas about sets and social use, but it predates Warmhoek by nearly half a century and there is no connection between the people of Salem and the occupants of Warmhoek. Both assemblages are of British manufacture and both include less expensive and more expensive wares. More pertinently, both have sets. However, the contexts differ. Salem's conspicuous tea-drinking has been interpreted as a manifestation of British culture in an outpost of the Cape Colony. However, at Warmhoek I see tea-drinking in local Afrikaner society as having the same symbolic potential to declare social status.



## CHAPTER 7 – CONCLUSION

Warmhoek farm is a late-nineteenth to early twentieth century site on the outskirts of Clanwilliam in the Western Cape Province of South Africa approximately 250 kilometres from Cape Town. It was excavated over six Field School seasons by the Archaeology Department of the University of Cape Town. The availability of archived records as well as material remains invited the use of historical archaeological research methods in a discursive way.

Despite the fact that the scale of this research focusses on a single property, my interpretation of the archaeology and records of Warmhoek farm is undertaken within the wider context of its Colonial history. A key theme throughout is the use of, access to and appropriation of land. In pre- and early-Colonial times the Clanwilliam area was occupied by indigenous hunter-gather and herder peoples; lithics and pottery found on the site attest to their presence there. September and Titus were descendants of this history. In Colonial times the well-watered valleys of the Jan Dissels River, a tributary of the Olifants River, attracted white trek farmers into the area with their cattle. The first loan farms were granted by the VOC in the third decade of the eighteenth century, by the end of which the area was relatively well-settled by white settlers. In 1820, parties of Irish settlers were introduced into the area, but most had departed by 1825 leaving only a handful of families to put down roots there. The descendants of these people formed the substrate of Clanwilliam's population in the late nineteenth century: a complex mix of both Dutch and British cultural inheritances.

During the course of the nineteenth century under British rule, land occupation and ownership processes were increasingly legalized and administration was devolved to

local authorities. By the 1830s the Dutch trek farmers were irked by the increasing British control and the levying of taxes. The emancipation of slaves in 1834 was deeply resented by them for economic reasons. They relied on slaves as a regular source of labour as indigenous people led nomadic lives. The Irish Settlers did not own slaves, relying on their own and paid labour. By the last quarter of the century Afrikaner national sentiment was building up; the 'Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners' (Association of True Afrikaners) was formed in 1875 and the Afrikaner Bond in 1879. In rural districts such as Clanwilliam, white commercial farmers owned most of the land and occupied positions on the Divisional Land Boards from which blacks and poorer white farmers tended to be excluded (Nell 1997:19).

A key issue in this thesis was to understand the presence on Platberg B, a very small piece of land with minimal grazing and crop raising capacity, of a large kraal and other agrarian structures. Moreover, these were in a significantly more ruinous state than the ruins of the four two metre high walls and quite well-preserved chimney of a five-roomed dwelling prominently placed across the north end of the terrace. The record of transfers of Platberg B from 1896 onward referred to earlier Clanwilliam Quitrents records which showed that Platberg B was originally part of a larger piece of Crown Land, Lot 1320, which was leased to Ben Foster in 1873 for 21 years. This information gave me reason to question whether the ruined agrarian structures might date back to that time or might, at any rate, pre-date the large dwelling. My finding was that the methods of construction of the agrarian structures were different to that of the main house and therefore provided sufficient evidence to date them to the 1870s and 1880s when Ben Foster farmed Lot 1320 in an entrepreneurial effort to supply meat and grain to the northern markets, necessitating the construction of a kraal, a threshing floor, a stable and a small dwelling for shepherds and herders.

Another issue was to understand the circumstances which gave rise to the application for and granting of a sub-lease to Frans September and Paulus Titus, two local coloured men. I have argued that this came about because Foster found that his farming efforts no longer warranted the paying of rent and September and Titus, who may have been familiar with the land, regarded it as suitable to their purposes, possibly the grazing of flocks and wood cutting. I have proposed that in 1889 the granting of a sub-lease over Lot 1320 to two men of slave descent would have set in motion a series of reactions, on the part of the neighbouring white farmers, which intensified in 1893 when the sub-tenants applied to purchase the land.

I interpret the events of 1893 to 1896 concerning Lot 1320 and its sub-division into Platberg A and Platberg B, as a playing out, in microcosm, of socio-political tensions in Clanwilliam, and indeed in South Africa, relating to historical loss of land by descendents of pre-colonial inhabitants and an intensifying Afrikaner nationalism. During this short period, legislation governing the sale and acquisition of Crown land was used by neighbouring Afrikaner farmers in an attempt to acquire Lot 1320, a piece of land previously not of interest to them, as means of resisting the possibility of this land being acquired by their opponents. The opponents were the two coloured sub-tenants of the land who had shortly before attempted to purchase Lot 1320 because they already had a vested interest in it.

While the purchase price of £125 suggested by the local Divisional Council appears to have encouraged the sub-tenants in their efforts to purchase, the Surveyor General's office insisted on the price of £250, which apparently they could not afford. If, as I have speculated, Dirk van Zyl attempted to influence the Surveyor-General to enforce

the legally stipulated pricing formula against the lower price set by the Divisional Council, then his attempt back-fired on him because the authorities resolved the situation with a sub-division, reserving the greater portion, designated Platberg A, to the Crown for forestry and allowing the villagers continued access to it for the gathering of fire wood. Despite this concession, and the granting of Portion B to Dirk van Zyl for £19, all the interested parties were probably disappointed.

The fourth issue was to understand the anomalous presence of a large dwelling on a small parcel of land which clearly could not be economically farmed, and to determine when it was built. My contention that the farmhouse was built in the mid-1890s is supported by the documentary evidence of change of ownership at that time and by the dating of the ceramic assemblage collected from the two middens and the three additional excavations associated with the house.

The fifth issue was to discover the identity of the builder and occupant[s] of the large dwelling. I have already argued that Dirk van Zyl was the most likely builder based on his ability to meet the cost of construction and on the history of the circumstances under which he had acquired the land. I also argued that Dirk van Zyl did not occupy the house himself. I have noted too that the occupants of the period 1896 to 1919 could not be identified beyond the suggestion that they would have been Afrikaners as Dirk van Zyl is most likely to have accepted occupants of his own cultural group. This is perhaps confirmed by the fact that the mother and step-mother of Bettie Van Dyk, the last housewife at Warmhoek from 1919 to 1927, were daughters of the Nieuwoudts of Boskloof and that both Bettie's father and her husband had independent connections with Boskloof either as a tenant or an employee.

The sixth issue was to unravel what the Warmhoek floor plan could say about the worldview of the builder of the farmhouse and what the analysis of its ceramics could say about the socio-economic status of the its occupants. I find that the design of the farmhouse is conceptually similar to vernacular longhouses on the Sandveld of the Cape West Coast and to somewhat similar houses with added rooms, of which two examples, Middel Kraal and Holland se Bos, are to be found in the Jan Dissels (Boskloof) valley. The difference between these examples and Warmhoek is that Warmhoek was constructed as a complete single building event with no additions contemplated, or indeed possible. It seems that Van Zyl's conception was that a farmhouse should be constructed on a single axis and look like a longhouse. Indeed, Middel Kraal, the early Holland se Bos house and Warmhoek conform to a remarkable degree to James Walton's idea of the style of early Cape houses as mentioned in the Introduction to this study (Chapter 1).

As to the dimensions of Warmhoek's rooms, the living room was found to be exceptionally large and its kitchen exceptionally small when compared to Sandveld longhouses and this suggests that Van Zyl conceived of a living area which was dissociated from the food preparation activities of the kitchen. I find that the frequency of teasetts in the ceramic assemblage of the farmhouse suggests that the occupants were socially active beyond the immediate family. The generous size of the living room would have lent itself to this kind of social activity.

The question remained as to why Van Zyl found it necessary to build any house at all on Platberg B, let alone such a large and expensive one, when the economic and practical advantage to him was so questionable. I contend that the Warmhoek farmhouse is a symbolic statement of his ownership particularly directed at September

and Titus, the coloured former sub-tenants who had attempted to purchase Lot 1320 which lay between farms owned by himself and the Nieuwoudts. Warmhoek farmhouse meets conditions that are essential for a house to be effective as a symbol: it was visible, striking in appearance, and invited viewers to wonder about its meanings (Brink 2008:201).

In summary, I find that there were three phases in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century history and archaeology of Warmhoek farm. From 1873 to 1889 Ben Foster held the Crown lease over Lot 1320 and farmed it commercially, grazing flocks and cattle for meat and producing grain for the Diamond Fields' market. From mid-1889 to January 1894, September and Titus occupied Lot 1320 as sub-tenants, using it for grazing and firewood collection, and, in the last months of the lease, attempted to purchase it. From early 1894 to mid-1896 the authorities, the neighbouring farmers and the villagers of Clanwilliam were engaged in contentious attempts to secure ownership or access to Lot 1320. Finally, in mid-1896, it was sub-divided and Dirk van Zyl became the owner of the small portion, Platberg B, on which he built the house which later acquired the popular name of Warmhoek and was privately occupied until the mid-1920s.

As far as comparative research is concerned, I found that, apart from a reference to the longhouses of the Sandveld, the buildings and ceramics of Salem in the Eastern Cape, provided the only available comparison with Warmhoek, yet these have a very different context from those of Warmhoek. Nevertheless, Deetz and Winer's interpretation (1990) usefully highlighted the respective roles of mindset and worldview in the construction of dwellings and the use of ceramics. More recently, in the Northern Cape Province, the ceramic analysis (Moffett 2010) of another single farm,

Schimmelfontein, occupied between 1860 and 1900, showed that ceramics recovered at the labourers' middens were similar to those of the farmhouse, indicating that these Karoo labourers obtained ceramics from their employers. This is of interest as September and Titus, who may have been labourers on Lot 1320 before becoming sub-tenants, acquired their ceramics independently; they were not employees of the occupants of the main farmhouse whose construction post-dated their occupation of Lot 1320.

I have noted that this study is limited to one house, its biography and its archaeology, and therefore its scale prompts the criticism that its findings are relevant only to this single context and cannot be generalized. However, the study has raised a series of working ideas that can be taken forward into comparative studies both within the Clanwilliam rural context as well as within the town itself. One of these ideas concerns the ambiguity of the form of the house and the mindset that underpinned its construction and use. We do not know what the scale of this mindset was and a topic for future work may be to question whether the ambiguity inherent in the re-creation of a vernacular form within a fixed, pre-planned design is widespread.

For comparison with Warmhoek, an excavation of Holland se Bos might contribute to an understanding of late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Afrikaner material culture in the Clanwilliam district. The early house at Holland se Bos may date to the 1870s. It was only recently demolished and has evidence of an associated midden. A daughter-in-law of the last occupants of the house who also lived on the property until 1993 is still living in Clanwilliam. Also the identification and excavation of a midden at Middel Kraal on Boskloof, which may date to 1840, could similarly contribute.

Certain themes to explore have already been suggested. A Western Cape sequence of comparative ceramics from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century is required. Margot Winer and James Deetz (1990:73) pointed out that further research into similarities as well as differences between English and trekboer settlers in the Cape is required. Moffett suggests that ceramics were possibly involved in discourses surrounding British and Dutch and urban and rural identities (Moffett 2010: 91) in South Africa. These could be important themes which future archaeological work in the Clanwilliam area could develop.

University of Cape Town



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Photograph of Martin and Better van Dyk and their two daughters, c.1928.

#### *Private photograph of Mrs. Jeanne Heywood*

Photographs of Ben and Eliza Foster.

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Clw.Q.13–16 with Diag.5798/1896 “Platberg B” – Dirk van Zyl

Clw.Q. 4–44 with Diag.380/1830 Jan Dissels River 270 – Middel Kraal

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and 16 October 1933

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MOOC LND Vol. 1/511 Ref. L3536– September & Titus, Lease

& Offer to purchase

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MOOC 6/9/983 3307 – D.J.A. van Zyl

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Albrechts, Mev. G.J. J.(now deceased)	Cederson , Clanwilliam	22 January 2007	nil
Burden, Salome,	Secretary, Augsburg Agricultural Gymnasium, Clanwilliam	20 January 2007	One or two by phone
Avenand, Lettie	027 482 2522	18 April 2006	nil
Burger, Ilze, (née Zimmerman)	Van der Bijl Park, 073 635 7990	14 Sept 2007 at Warmhoek farm	27 Sept 2007 and several thereafter
Esterhuizen, Eileen (née Van der Horst), grand-daughter of Ben Foster	Heritage Manor, Somerset West 021 851 6801	1 March 2009	nil
Heywood, Jeanne (née Van der Horst) grand-daughter of Ben Foster	Kommetjie, 021 783 1742	16 March 2009	16 January 2011
Kotzé, Elsabe	1 Cederson, Clanwilliam 027 482 1132	20 January 2007	
Lee, Clare	U.S.A. clare@mn.IT.com	Mid 2006	E-mails
Louw, Miss Hester S.	Unit 1812, Huis van der Walt, Bellville. 021 949 1361	22 November 2007	December 2007
Maas, Mr Octavius	Bergsig Straat, Clanwilliam Tel. 027 482 1209	2006	
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Saaiman, Stella M. née Van Dyk	Cederson, Clanwilliam. 027 482 2218	20 April 2006	27 April 2006, 14 Sept. 2007 at Warmhoek

<u>Name of person</u>	<u>Contact details</u>	<u>Date of first interview</u>	<u>Date/s of further interviews</u>
Strassberger, Nancy	Clanwilliam Hotel	27 April 2006	nil
Van Dyk, Frans Truter,	Vredendal Cell: 083 651 6551	24 April 2006	14 September 2007 at Warmhoek
Van Zyl, Andries	Former Town Clerk, Clanwilliam Tel. 027 482 1015	April 2006	nil
Van Zyl, W. 'Hellum'	Relative of D.J.A. van Zyl 9 Van Reenenstraat, Blaauwberg Strand. 021 554 1152 reshamm@hotmail.com	14 December 2009 – telephone	nil
Visser, Mrs. Marie (née Coetzee)	President Brand Street, Clanwilliam Tel: 027 482 2419	5 July 2002	16 January 2011
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## APPENDIX 2.1

[illegible]

## APPENDIX 2.2 page 1

(M1372)

This Report filed with Transfer Deed, of Dirk van Zyl.  
 Chwila Quintrent 13-16

REPORT OF INSPECTION.

No. 1 called Platberg B.

Division of Clanwilliam Fieldmaster Clanwilliam 1895

Applied for by Dirk van Zyl

Inspected by H. de Smet on the 20<sup>th</sup> November 1895

Forwarded to the Surveyor-General on the 28<sup>th</sup> January 1896

1. Give clear reference by dates and numbers, to former documents and authority to inspect and survey. Surveyor General's letter 1893. 25<sup>th</sup> July 1895

2. The extent of Lot surveyed, 142 morgen 41 square rods.

3. Rough Estimate of extent of arable land, and of land which may be irrigated and cultivated. - about 40 morgen. where marked.  
 Facilities for constructing dams for irrigation. - nil

4. Extent of pasture, roughly. about 100 morgen.

## APPENDIX 2.2.page 2

3. Reason why remained, if any, is not included in Nos. 3 or 4.

None.

6. Estimate of stock that can be kept on the pasture during the whole or part, and if so, what part, of an average year?

a few sheep or goats.

7. Water supply during like period. Facilities for construction of dam for storing water for stock.

Strong permanent supply in the  
Lualaba River. no dam necessary.

8. Estimate of distance and direction from nearest town or village in straight line, and by road or roads, describing them and their condition generally,—that is, bridle-path or wagon road, and if easy or difficult with ordinary load.

about 17 1/2 from Kasumbale by a  
good road. rather sandy.

9. Timber forest or bush, minerals and precious stones, improvements, if any, and their cost, as also the amount the market value may be enhanced by such improvements.

Improvements. Not a  
one as some indigenous trees with  
the River. no particular value.

19. The objections, if any, made to disposal of the ground by Government, giving full notes of heads of statements and counter statements, with short précis and opinion thereon.

none made to me

11. Note names of persons who pointed out adjacent bearings, specifying which, and also note on diagram the names of those to whom your bearings were shown by you. \_\_\_\_\_

I know all the Reasons. -  
I showed by Reasons to Mr. Brit  
van Jyl namely. A. B. and D. and C  
to the N.E. Minister as a Reasoner -

12. Whether Lease under Section 13, Act 15, 1887, would be consistent with the interest of Government.

sale preferable.

13. Specify clearly and briefly the condition, if any, recommended to be inserted in Deed of Disposal.

ie Note the water supply to the village  
of Glauswillen should not be  
interfered with for all times.

14. Assess fair value of the lot, with due regard to reserves and restrictions as affecting that estimated value.

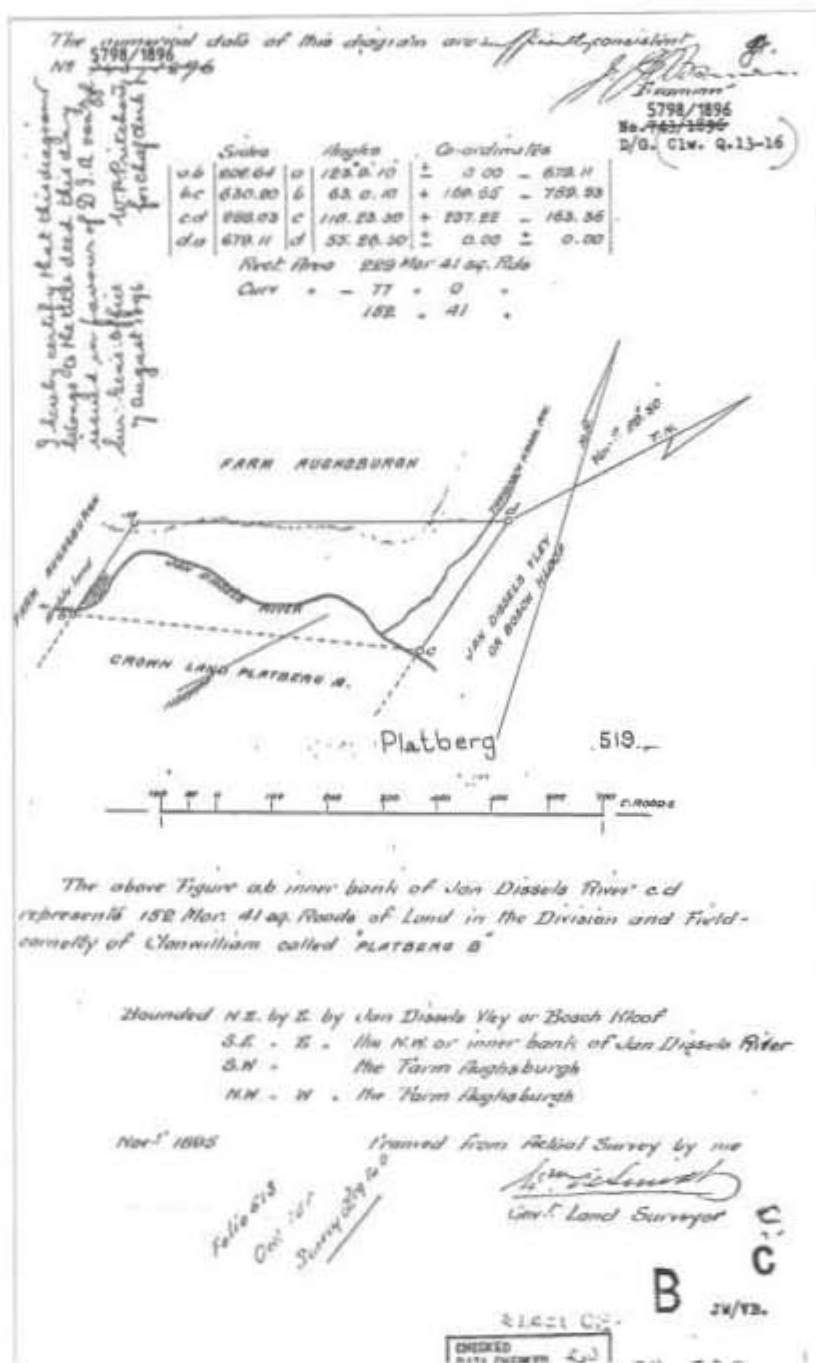
$$\frac{1}{2} 35 = 17.5$$

Dr. Schmitt

*Lotus* *Sty. reuteri*

(This form obtainable from Savings-General's Office.)

## APPENDIX 2.3



## APPENDIX 5.1 CATALOGUE – WARMHOEK CERAMICS

In third Column [Description, etc] *Italics* draw attention to a *CROSS MATCH* i.e. sherds of same pattern found in separate locations;

**bold** draws attention to a **CROSS MEND** i.e. sherds which fit together but were found in separate locations or at significantly different levels.

Cat. No.	Ware & Decoration	Description, Origin & Provenance	No. of Sherds	Forms MNV
1	RIW – print brown, orange & buff, floral	<i><b>Maker's mark:</b> [P]etrus Regout &amp; Co., Maastricht, Holland. Lion recumbent.</i> <i>GM, Dumps &amp; MHS at levels from 0-80 cm [i.e. all levels]</i>	59	3 saucers 2 bowls
2	RIW – print, single colour, green, floral	<i>Ref. Klose 2007 Illus. 367 [top left]</i> <b>Post 1820's.</b> <i>GM from Surface to 30 cm [13 sherds].</i> <i>Dumps D2, D3, D4 0-55 [18 sherds]</i> <i>Note: Rim from D3 Sq. 1. 10-20 fitted to sherd from D4/D8 45-55 and to one from D3/3/2</i>	31	1 plate M/L [220mm diam.]
3	RIW – print, single colour pale blue, floral	<i>Ref. Klose 2007 Illus 367 [bottom middle] Post 1820's. GM: all levels from 10-20 through to 70-80 and two similar from MHS [16 sherds]</i> <i>Dumps D3 &amp; D4, Surface – 20 cm [5 sherds]</i>	21	1 serving platter 1 plate L
4	RIW – print, single colour blue, floral	<i>Ref. Godden No. 506, and pp 132, 400, 496. Nos. 811/12, 2447/8, 3049, 4313/4. Maker's mark [impressed] [Bow, 506?]: crescent moon with possible small star and turtle.</i> <i>Sherds from G M and Dump 3 [1 sherd] from Surface to 30 cm.</i>	12	1 plate M/L footring approx 115- 120 mm diam.
5	RIW – print, single colour, blue-green, floral	<i>Ref. Klose 2007 Illus 367. Post 1820's. Maker's design mark: "Hyde Park". G M 30-40 [fitted], AFD &amp; MHS. Third plate from STR.1. Also one chip from Str.1 ?</i>	9	2 plates M/L 250mm diam. 1 plate [soup]
6	RIW – print, single colour, blue	<i><b>Maker's mark, J &amp; MP Bell &amp; Co, Glasgow, design "Brazil", manufactured 1850-1870. Ref: Godden No. 318. From G M, Dump 3 &amp; MHS, 0-40 cm</b></i>	5	2 plates M/L

7	RIW – print, blue, floral [distinctive daisy]	G M 20-30	1	1 plate, approx 200 mm diam.
8	RIW – print, blue,	<b>'Willow' pattern</b> , showing stippling. Per HARG collection. GM 20-30	2	1 plate, M/L
9	RIW –gilded white ware	GM 0-50 cm [Handle, not marked].	11	9 cups 1 handle
10	RIW – gilded white ware	<b>Footring with gilded 'shamrock' in depression.</b> Base printed/stamped with ambiguous mark [paw print & '75']. <b>GM 0-40 cm</b> Klose 2007. Illus 321 and 164 & 165	2	1 saucer
11	RIW – gilded white ware	Similar to gilded dinner ware advertised in J.W. Jagger catalogue of 1914, on pg. 17 [in HARG – <b>Antonia Malan's office</b> ]. <b>GM 10-50 cm</b> Klose 2007. Illus 321 and 164 & 165	5	1 plate, soup, 220 mm diam.
12	Porcelain – gilded white ware with broad faded pink band, lustre	European porcelain. Depression present. Pronounced footring. 3 fitted sherds. Klose 2007. Illus. 431 GM 20-30	3	1 saucer, 160 mm diam
13	RIW – gilded white ware, 3 gilt lines, pink band, fluted, lustre	European ? Klose 2007. Illus. 432 GM 40-50	1	1 cup
14	RIW – white ware	Undecorated. P1 D1 fitted to P1 D2. 10-20 cm	3	1 plate S/M/L
15	RIW – coloured body	<i>Brown teapot ware. 2 sherds from GM Pkt 1 and 10 from Dumps 3 &amp; 4. Surface-30 cm</i>	12	1 [or 2] teapot
16	RIW – painted u/g, green & red	Bands. GM from 7 squares at depths from 0-50 cm	11	1 Bowl, 115 mm diam.
17	RIW – white ware, cream coloured, shiny	GM surface-30	5	1 plate M/L
18	RIW – white ware	<b>Maker's mark: Excella, England, China, in a double circle.</b> GM 10-20	1	1 plate S/M



19	RIW – white ware	<b>Maker's mark [in green]: partial</b> crown and [garter?] British ? GM 10-20	1	1 plate S/M/
20	RIW – white ware	<b>Footring, maker's mark: Ref. Godden 4285, p.689 :</b> Wood & Son, 1891-1907. GM 30-40	1	1 plate M/L
21	Stoneware	Ink bottle, complete, Doulton & Co., Lambeth, with <b>two maker's</b> marks. Ref. Godden, p.214. GM 10-20cm	1	1 ink bottle
22	Stoneware	<b>Maker's mark</b> –partial. Grey body, tan glaze. GM 10-30	8	1 flask
23	RIW – print, single colour, green, blossoms on branches	GM 30-40 <b>'Dog roses'</b> - green	1	1 cup
24	RIW – print & paint, faded colours, pink, black & blue, bands & floral	GM 1-40	6	1 cup 1 plate S
25	RIW – print, navy & red, stylized floral	<i>GM 40-50, AFD 0-5</i>	2	1 bowl S/M
26	RIW – print/paint?, red	Imitation shell edge. GM	2	1 plate S
27	RIW – print & paint, faded grey & red, floral, fluted	Two rims, gilded & lustre. GM 0-50	7	1 mug
28	RIW – print, blue, lines, bulky sherds	<i>GM and Dumps 3 &amp; 4, 0-30 3 rims, 3 footrings</i>	6	1 basin - hygiene?
29	RIW – white ware, moulded	Possible footring of large basin? GM F4 20-30	1	1 basin - hygiene
30	RIW – print, single colour, blue, floral	<i>Two Sherds from Dumps and nine from GM surface – 70 cm</i>	11	1 plate, M/L

31	RIW – print, amber/yellow & black bands, gilt & lustre	<i>One with maker's mark: ... DEIN and motif. European GM &amp; Dump 3, 0-30</i>	5	1 plate S
32	RIW – print, single colour, brown, floral, fluted, gilded	<b>Maker's mark: Burgess &amp; Leigh, Burslem. 1906-1912.</b> Ref. Godden? GM 10-50 Gilded at edge of rim	6	1 saucer
33-35	RIW – white ware, undecorated	GM 0-10 [handle], GM 20-30, GM 40-50	3	3 cups
36	RIW – white ware, undecorated	No depression. GM 20-30	3	1 dish S
37	RIW – gilded [cream coloured]	Handle matches ware of saucer GM 10-20	4	1 saucer 1 cup
38	RIW – white ware, moulded & scalloped	GM saucer at 10-30 Cup at 40-50	3	1 saucer 1 cup
39	RIW – white ware, ribbed	GM D3 0-5	1	1 saucer
40	RIW – white ware, embossed	Ref. Klose 2007. Illus 421a GM 40-50 & 70-80	3	1 bowl
40	RIW – white ware	Ref. Klose 2007. Illus. 421a. GM 0-30 [fitted] & Dump D4/A4	3	1 plate
41	RIW – white ware, fluted	GM 20-30	1	1 saucer
42	RIW – white ware, ribbed	Footrings. GM 10-40	3	1 cup
43	RIW – white ware, ribbed	Footrings -3, and one other sherd fitted GM 30-50	4	1 cup
44	RIW – white ware, fluted	GM Surface Klose 2007, Illus 164	3	1 mug/cup
45	RIW – white ware, fluted and ribbed	1 rim, 1 footring of hollow ware. GM 10-20	2	1 cup
46	RIW – slipware, various colours	GM 30-40, GM B3 Spit, and Lab. Cott Klose 2007. Illus. 406, 408, 410.	3	1 or 3 bowl[s]

47	RIW – sponge	Leaves & bows Klose 2007, Illus. 399a&b. GM 0-30	9	1 saucer 1 bowl
48	RIW – sponge	<i>Floral &amp; line, blue &amp; red Klose 2007, Illus. 399a &amp; b. GM, 0-10, 50-60 &amp; footring from Dump 2 Surf around grid</i>	3	1 bowl
49	RIW – sponge	Diamonds & lines, red & green Klose 2007, Illus. 399a&b. GM 30-40, 40-50, 60-70	3	1 bowl
50	RIW – sponge	<b>Blue floral with red line Klose 2007, Illus. 399a&amp;b. GM C3 0-10 &amp; B5 70-80 fitted. Others GM C5 40-50</b>	6	1 bowl
51	RIW – sponge	Nested circles, brown. GM 50-80. [One sherd unmarked, but matches]. Klose 2007, Illus. 399a&b.	5	1 bowl
52	RIW – sponge	Floral, purple. Klose 2007, Illus. 399a&b. GM 10-20	1	1 bowl
53	PARIAN	<i>Doll's torsos and limbs. Klose 2007, 460a&amp;b – 463 Lastovica p. 78 &amp; 81 GM 0-60 [6 sherds, 6 MNV] Dumps D2, D3 &amp; D4 [6 sherds, 6 MNV] AFD 0-5 [1 sherd, 1 MNV]</i>	13	13 dolls
54	RIW – china, plain	<i>Doll's tea set. Illus. Lastovica, p. 78 Klose 2007, 460a&amp;b - 463 GM 0-10, 30-40, 50-60 Dumps D2 &amp; D4 [2 sherds 2 MNV]</i>	6	3 cups 3 saucers
55	CLAY	Stem of pipe [smoking] GM 40-50	1	1 pipe [smoking]
56	PARIAN – bubbles	Bubble surface GM 0-10	1	1 ornament
57	STONEWARE – dark brown glaze	<i>Dumps 1,2,3,4 and MHS</i>	6	1 [jar/ink?]
58	STONEWARE – medium brown glaze	D2 surface	1	? flask/jar
59	STONEWARE – tan glaze	D3 Level 1 and D3 40-50	3	1 flask/jar

60	RIW – white ware, cream coloured, Royal rim	<b>Royal Rim, dinner plate 280 mm diam. Klose 2007, Illus. 299.</b> <b>Dump D3 Sur-30 and one from MHS surface which is fitted to one from D3 surface</b>	19	1 plate L
61	RIW – print, single colour, blue-green, floral	<i>Lid of large dish. Klose 2007, Illus.369. GM 10-30, MHS surface, D3 Surface to 20cm</i>	7	1 lid of large serving dish
62	RIW – print, single colour, brown, floral	<i>Dumps D3 &amp; D4 25-50 and GM 0-30</i>	7	1 plate S/M/L
63	Porcelain – painted, floral, polychrome	<b>European, partial maker's mark "...tria" under green crown. Dump 2, 10-20</b>	1	1 plate S/M/L
64	RIW – print, single colour, brown, dog roses	<i>Dumps D2, D3, D4, Surface-20 [Similar to Cat. 241 &amp; 252]</i>	5	1 plate S/M
65	RIW – print, single colour, blue, gilt	<i>Flower chains and medallions. Dumps D2 &amp; D3 0-30 &amp; GM 30-50 Gilded at edge of rim</i>	6	1 or 2 plates S/M/L
66	Porcelain – painted, red & green	<i>Japanese, per Jane Klose personal communication, Eastern rural scene. Dumps D3 &amp; D4 Sur - 30 and GM Surface to 30-40. One sherd from a cup?</i>	7	1 plate/saucer 1 cup
67	RIW – print, single colour, grey-blue	<i>Rhine pattern per Klose 2007, Illus.356. Surface sherds: one rim from <b>Labourer's Cottage</b>, 2 footrings from D3</i>	3	1 or 2 plates S/M/L
68	Porcelain – print, green & gilt	European. Ribbon and gilt edge on rim. Base has <b>maker's mark: "Victoria" Green crown. Czacko-Sl..</b> I believe that these represent one vessel Dump D3.	2	1 plate S
69	RIW – print, single colour, green	Medallion & central flower. Dump D3/3	1	1 cup/mug
70	Porcelain – moulded & printed floral, pink & green	<i>Dump D2, two fitted GM footring</i>	3	1 bowl [sugar?]

71	Porcelain – printed, bands	<i>Orange &amp; blue bands; brown edge to rim. Compare Cat. 310. Dumps D2 &amp; D3 and Str. 1 [Pig Sty]</i>	3	1 cup
72	Porcelain – printed, floral, pink & green	<i>European ? Hollow ware. Dump D3/A4 &amp; GM Sur - 10</i>	4	1 unknown
73	RIW – print, floral, pink & green	Dump D3 10-20 [Decal print?]	1	1 mug
74	RIW – print, single colour, brown, floral, fluted	Dumps Surface - 40	8	1 cup
75	RIW – print, navy & blue, floral	D3 0-20 [Decal print?]	2	1 mug
76	RIW – bands, pink & black, floral	<i>D4 &amp; D1 Sur- 30 MHS Sur</i>	9	2 mug 2 plates S
77-82, 84-85	RIW – white ware, gilded	<i>Dump D3 &amp; D4 Sur-30 [9 sherds] and GM PKT 1 20-40 [3 sherds]</i>	10	9 cups 1 flatware
83 & 86	RIW – white ware, gilded at rim	GM PI	1	1 cup
87	PORCELAIN – band & lustre, pink/ green, fluted	The lustrous band shimmers pink & green. Saucer 150 mm. Klose 2007, Illus 431 & 433. European. Dump D3/A3 surface.	1	1 saucer
88 – 95	RIW – white ware, gilt lines	<i>D3 &amp; D3 0-30 - rims GM Pkt 1 [sherds with 3 lines]</i>	10	7 saucers
96	RIW – white ware, gilt lines	Double lines. GM 0-5 & 30-40	2	1 saucer
97	RIW – white ware, mottled pale grey upper surface	<b>Maker's mark: "Royal..." in green-black</b> Depression present	1	1 saucer

98	RIW – white ware, ribbed	GM 30-40. Fitted sherds	3	1 cup
99	RIW – white ware, ribbed, milky, green tinge, thick walled, vitreous	<b>Dump D3 Sur-20 [3 sherds]. Cross-mend D3/B1 level 3 to GM D3 0-10 [GM - 3 sherds] [plus one sherd unmarked]</b>	7	1 cup
100-127	RIW – white ware, undecorated	Rims of flat & hollow ware Dumps D1 – 4, 0-50 cm [Possibly 5 mugs, 15 saucers, 8 unknown MNV]	31	Unknown
128	RIW – white ware, fluted	Dump 3/5	1	1 saucer
129	RIW - white ware, moulded	Dump D3	2	1 plate L
130-135	RIW – white ware, moulded or undecorated, rims	Dumps D2 & D3	6	Unknown
136	RIW – white ware, moulded	Dumps D3 & D4 0-35	3	1 saucer
137	RIW – white ware, moulded	Flatware. Dump D3 30-40	1	1 unknown
138	RIW – sponge fern leaves, green & blue	Dumps D2, D3, D4 0-20	4	1 bowl S 1 plate S/M/L
139	RIW – sponge, Red & green	Dumps D3 & D4 0-35 AFD K2 25-35	6	1 hollow 1 flat
140	RIW - sponge, blue, green, red	D2 surface	1	1 bowl S
141	RIW – lines, red	Dump D3 [hollow] & one unmarked sherd [flatware]	2	1 bowl

142-145	PORCELAIN – miscellaneous chips	Dumps & GM	4	Unknown
146	RIW – moulded, indefinite	Dump D2 10-20	1	1 ornament?
147	POTTERY – Khoi	GM D5 20-30	6	unknown
148	RIW – white ware, gilt line	GM 40-50	2	1 cup
149	RIW – white ware, gilt line	GM 40-50	1	1 cup
150	RIW – white ware, gilt line	GM G4 0-10	1	1 saucer
151	RIW – white ware, gilt line	GM E3 0-10	1	1 saucer
152-160	RIW – white ware, undecorated	Footrings, flat ware – plates Dumps D2, D3, D4 Sur-35	10	8 plates M/L
161-167	RIW – white ware, undecorated	Footrings, flat ware – saucers : with depression Dumps D3 & D4	7	7 saucers
168-175	RIW – white ware, undecorated	Footrings Afdak 0-35 Saucers: with depression	9	3 saucers 5 flat [plates] 1 bowl
176-178	RIW – white ware, undecorated	Footrings LAB.COTT. Surface	3	1 flat
179-194	RIW – white ware, undecorated	Flatware. Footrings. GM 0-70, one from AFD	17	Unknown
195	RIW – white ware, moulded, 'Royal rim'	Rim GM 0-10 [Similar to Cat. 60]	1	1 plate
196	RIW – white ware, gilded, single line	Rims GM 0-10	7	7 saucers
197	RIW – white ware, navy	<b>Maker's mark: "Maestricht. Holland."</b> Lion, standing, hindquarters. MHS	1	unknown

198	RIW - white ware, gilded edge on rims	Rims	3	1 saucer
199-223	RIW – white ware, plain	Rims, forms unknown GM	30	unknown
224	RIW – white ware, printed, single colour green	<i>GM 10-20 and Dump 3</i>	3	1 plate
225	RIW – sponge, blue line	Hollow ware. GM 0-10 [2 sherds] 1 sherd unmarked	3	Unknown
226	RIW – white ware, gilt & paint, floral	European ? Fitted sherds A sugar bowl – shallow. GM 0-10	2	1 bowl
227	RIW – white ware, blue line	GM 20-30 Rim	1	hollow
228	RIW – white ware, blue lines	GM 20-30 Rim	1	Flat
229	RIW – white ware, print, single colour, blue-green	GM 0-20 and one from D1 10-20	5	1 bowl SML
230	RIW – white ware, print & paint, floral, green & blue	<i>GM 0-10 &amp; D1 Sur-10</i>	4	1 bowl SML
231	STONEWARE	GM	2	?
232	RIW – white ware, painted, black & pink	Design – a cockerel. GM 20-40	3	1 ornament?
233-240, 242–254	RIW – white ware, decorated	Various decorations on otherwise undiagnostic sherds. GM, Dumps, MHS, AFD, & Str.1.	25	unknown
241	RIW – white ware, print, floral, brown	Dog roses design. Undiagnostic hollow sherds AFD & GM Surf -30	3	1 bowl



255	RIW – white ware, chinoiserie	Design shows pagoda & house in landscape GM 10-20	1	1 plate
256 & 257	RIW – white ware, decorated	Both unmarked. One with yellow leaf outlined in red. One pale yellow. Found with others from AFD	2	unknown
258	RIW – white ware, print, single colour, blue	Ribbons, MHS	3	1 unknown
259	RIW – white ware, print, single colour, blue	Stylized, floral. MHS	1	1 cup
260	RIW – white ware, print, brown	MHS	1	1 plate?
261	RIW – white ware, print & paint, green & brown, fluted	MHS	1	1 mug
262	RIW – white ware, lines, blue	MHS	2	1 bowl?
263	RIW – white ware, lines, navy	MHS	1	1 ?
264	RIW – white ware, undecorated	Handle scar present MHS	1	1 cup
265	RIW – white ware, undecorated	MHS	1	1 plate [soup?]
266-268	RIW – white ware, print, single colour [brown, blue, blue-green]	AFD One sherd similar to lid at Dump D3, but not the same vessel	3	3 plates S

269	RIW – white ware, print, floral, blue	AFD 1 rim, 1 footring, 1 undiagnostic	3	1 plate
270	RIW – white ware, sponge, blue	Smudged effect AFD	3	1 plate
271	RIW – white ware, painted, bands [worn], yellow & red	AFD	2	1 ?
272	RIW – white ware, black line	AFD	1	?
273	RIW – white ware, sponge, red with blue line	AFD	3	1 ?
274	RIW – slipware	AFD	1	1 bowl
275	RIW – ribbed, scalloped, reddish brown, gilt	<i>AFD &amp; Dump D2 – cross match [2 small rims] One rim sherd and one other from GM are similar. Gilt edge to rim</i>	4	2 plate S
276	RIW – white ware, printed, floral, multi-colour	<i>European? GM 10-15, AFD 0-5 [Three footrings]</i>	3	1 plate S
277	RIW - white ware, plain	AFD Surface to floor. 6 rims One cup and one or more flatware	6	1 cup 1 unknown
278	RIW – white ware, plain, cream coloured?	AFD	1	1 plate L
279	RIW – white ware, plain	Plate [deep cavetto] 270mm diam. AFD Surface Klose 2007, pg. 55	1	1 plate L [soup]
280	RIW – parian, swirl	AFD	1	Ornamental swirl
281	STONEWARE – vitreous, tan	Neck? Provenance uncertain – Dump 3, A2? See also Cat. 57, 58, 59	1	1 flask

282	STONEWARE – ink well	AFD Ref. Klose 2007, Illus. 225	1	1 ink well
283	RIW – white ware, painted, floral, green & blue	LAB COTT Harsh colours	1	1 bowl
284-285	RIW – white ware, print, single colour, red, green-blue, floral	LAB. COTT	2	2 plates
286	RIW – white ware, print, single colour, mauve, floral	LAB.COTT	2	1 bowl S
287	RIW – white ware, appliqué - [lilac sprig]	LAB COTT. 19 <sup>th</sup> century. Klose 2007, Illus 166.	1	1 bowl S
288	RIW - white ware, sponge, black on yellow, red band, motif	LAB COTT	3	1 plate S/M
289	RIW – white ware, lines, 3, blue	LAB COTT 3 Fine lines at rim.	1	1 mug
290	RIW – white ware, sponge, red & green	LAB.COTT	7	1 bowl
291	RIW – white ware, sponge, red	LAB COTT Undiagnostic sherd.	1	1 ?
292	RIW – white ware, sponge, blue floral & red line	LAB COTT Undiagnostic sherds. Probably a bowl.	4	1 bowl

293	RIW – white ware, plain	LAB COTT	1	1 plate S
294	RIW – white ware, indefinite	LAB COTT	1	1 unknown
295	POTTERY – Khoi	LAB COTT	9	unknown
296	RIW – white ware, gilded	AFD - Undiagnostic sherd	1	unknown
297	RIW – white ware, gilded	DUMPS <b>Undiagnostic sherds, one with 'shamrock' pattern.</b>	5	1 saucer
298	RIW – white ware, gilded	GM undiagnostic sherds, probably teaware	11	unknown
299	Earthenware	GM	1	Unknown
300	Porcelain – white, decorated	D4 B3 10-30cm. European? Edge of rims painted brown, very thin ware 1.5 mm. See also rims of Cat. 71 which are also brown edged.	2	1 unknown
301	RIW – white ware, plain	Handles. AFD, DUMPS, GM Twelve sherds from GM yield possibly 11 MNV	23	unknown
302	RIW – white ware, plain,	Footrings. DUMPS, GM, MHS Fifteen sherds from Dumps yield possibly 12 cups	25	unknown
303	RIW – white ware, plain & undiagnostic	DUMPS D1 – 5 sherds, D2 -15 sherds, D3 – 70 sherds, D4 – 61 sherds and 7 from Dumps but unmarked as to which dump	158	unknown
304	RIW – white ware, plain, undiagnostic	GM	127	unknown
305	RIW – white ware, plain, undiagnostic	ADF	37	unknown
306	RIW – white ware, undecorated, undiagnostic	MHS	16	unknown
307	RIW – white ware, plain, undiagnostic	STR.1 [PIG STY]	4	unknown

308	RIW – white ware, plain, undiagnostic	STR.3 PATH Five are small chips	15	Unknown
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SITE: <b>WARMHOEK</b> , CLANWILLIAM [WHK] - <b>GULLY MIDDEN</b>		<b>APPENDIX 5.2</b>	
<b>WARE &amp; DECORATION TABLE: LATE 19th - EARLY 20th CENTURY</b>			
<b>Based on rims with the addition of footrings, handles &amp; undiagnostic sherds which obviously differ from wares/decoration represented by rims.</b>		<b>GULLY MIDDEN</b>	
	<b>No. of Sherds</b>	<b>MNV</b>	<b>MNV %</b>
<b>PORCELAIN</b>			
ASIAN - CHINESE	0		
ASIAN - JAPANESE			
ASIAN - ISLAMIC / PROVINCIAL / UNPROVENANCED	0		
EUROPEAN - ALL COUNTRIES			
EUROPEAN - BRITISH	0		
<b>STONEWARE</b>	0		
<b>EARTHENWARE</b>			
AFRICAN EARTHENWARE			
Khoi	6	0	
Other	2	0	
<b>REFINED INDUSTRIAL WARES</b>			
WHITE BODIED - ALL TYPES - UNDECORATED [No distinction made between creamware, pearlware and white ware]			
Plain	39	5	5.68
Hotel Ware'			
Fluted or Ribbed	14	7	7.95
- undiagnostic	19	0	
Cream coloured			
Queen/Royal rim			
Moulded /Relief	14	5	5.68
Handles	11	0	
Footrings [Hollow and flat wares]	30	0	
Base with partial maker's mark	3	0	
Undiagnostic	127	0	
Indefinite			
<b>DECORATED WHITE-BODIED REFINED WARES - ALL TYPES</b>			
CONTINENTAL EUROPE			
Printed - tissue - single colour			
Printed / Painted - polychrome	49	5	5.68
Gilt & lustre	5	4	4.54
Sub-total			
BRITISH			
Appliqué	0	0	0
Annular - See Slipped	0	0	0
Lines: band & line [single/multiple, thin/wide]	19	3	3.4
Gilded: gold/silver lines -single or multiple;	38	20	22.72
- handles	1	1	1.13
- footrings	6	4	4.54
- undiagnostic	11	0	0
Sub-total			

<i>DECORATED WHITE-BODIED REFINED WARES - ALL TYPES</i>			
BRITISH [Contd.]			
Painted & sponge			
Printed overglaze - decal			
Printed - Willow pattern	2	1	1.13
Printed [tissue] underglaze - single colour	79	21	23.86
- footrings			
Printed [tissue] - polycolour			
Print and paint			
Slipped [Annular]	2	2	2.27
Sponge	28	7	7.95
Tinted body			
Undefined			
Undiagnostic	31	0	
Other - footring	1	0	
Sub-total			
<i>COLOURED-BODIED REFINED WARES</i>			
Yellow ware	0		
Teapot ware	2	1	1.13
<i>REFINED STONEWARE</i>			
19th century plain or moulded	4	2	2.27
Sub-total			
<i>ORNAMENTAL</i>			
Doll - Parian	6	0	
Dolls' tea set	4	0	
Indefinite - Black & pink cockerel [tin glaze?]	3	0	
Undiagnostic	1	0	
Sub-total			
<b>TOTAL</b>	557	88	99.93
Based on Jane Klose 2007			

SITE: <b>WARMHOEK</b> , CLANWILLIAM [WHK] - <b>DUMPS 1 - 4</b>		<b>APPENDIX 5.3</b>		
<b>WARE &amp; DECORATION TABLE: LATE 19th - EARLY 20th CENTURY</b>				
<b>Based on rims with the addition of footrings, handles &amp; undiagnostic sherds which obviously differ from wares/decoration represented by rims.</b>		<b>DUMPS 1 - 4</b>		
	<b>No. of Sherds</b>	<b>MNV</b>	<b>MNV %</b>	
<b>PORCELAIN</b>				
ASIAN - CHINESE		0		
ASIAN - JAPANESE		7	2	4.25
ASIAN - ISLAMIC / PROVINCIAL / UNPROVENANCED		0		
EUROPEAN - ALL COUNTRIES				
EUROPEAN - BRITISH		0		
<b>STONEWARE</b>		0		
<b>EARTHENWARE</b>				
AFRICAN EARTHENWARE				
Khoi		0		
Other		0		
<b>REFINED INDUSTRIAL WARES</b>				
WHITE BODIED - ALL TYPES - UNDECORATED [No distinction made between creamware (c.c.), pearlware and white ware]				
Plain - rims		32	0	0
Hotel Ware'				
Fluted or Ribbed		6	1	2.12
Cream coloured		6	0	
Queen/Royal rim		19	1	2.12
Moulded /Relief		5	2	4.25
Handles		11	0	
Footrings [Hollow and flat wares]		33	0	
Base with maker's mark		1	0	
Undiagnostic		158	0	
DECORATED WHITE-BODIED REFINED WARES - ALL TYPES				
CONTINENTAL EUROPE				
Printed - tissue - single colour				
Printed - polychrome		16	2	4.25
Painted & Lustre				
Base with maker's mark		3	1	2.12
BRITISH				
Appliqué				
Annular - See Slipped				
Lines: band & line [single/multiple, thin/wide]		11	4	8.51
Gilded: gold/silver lines -single or multiple; sometimes with central motif		26	14	29.78
- handles		0		
- footrings		0		
- undiagnostic		0		



	No. of Sherds	MNV	MNV %
<i>DECORATED WHITE-BODIED REFINED WARES - ALL TYPES</i>			
BRITISH [Contd.]			
Painted & sponge			
Printed overglaze - decal	3	2	4.25
Printed - Willow pattern			
Printed [tissue] underglaze - single colour footrings	51	8	17.02
Printed [tissue] - polycolour	3	1	2.12
Printed and paint	2	1	2.12
Slipped [Annular]			
Sponge	11	3	6.38
Tinted body			
Undefined	2	0	
Undiagnostic	4	0	
<i>COLOURED-BODIED REFINED WARES</i>			
Yellow ware	0		
Teapot ware	9	1	2.12
<i>REFINED STONEWARE</i>			
19th century plain or moulded	6	4	8.51
<i>ORNAMENTAL</i>			
Doll - parian	6	0	
Dolls' tea set	2	0	
Indefinite	1	0	
Undiagnostic			
<b>TOTAL</b>	434	47	99.92
Based on Jane Klose 2007			

SITE: <b>WARMHOEK</b> , CLANWILLIAM [WHK] - <b>AFDAK</b>		APPENDIX 5.4	
<b>WARE &amp; DECORATION TABLE: LATE 19th - EARLY 20th CENTURY</b>			
Based on rims with the addition of footrings, handles & undiagnostic sherds which obviously differ from wares/ decoration represented by rims.		<b>AFDAK</b>	
	<b>No. of Sherds</b>	<b>MNV</b>	<b>MNV %</b>
<b>PORCELAIN</b>			
ASIAN - CHINESE		0	
ASIAN - JAPANESE			
ASIAN - ISLAMIC / PROVINCIAL / UNPROVENANCED		0	
EUROPEAN - ALL COUNTRIES		0	
EUROPEAN - BRITISH		0	
<b>STONEWARE</b>		0	
<b>EARTHENWARE</b>		0	
AFRICAN EARTHENWARE			
Khoi		0	
Other		0	
<b>REFINED INDUSTRIAL WARES</b>			
WHITE BODIED - ALL TYPES - UNDECORATED [No distinction made between creamware (c.c.), pearlware and white ware]			
Plain rims		6	1 7.69
Hotel Ware' rim		1	1 7.69
Fluted or Ribbed			
Cream coloured rim		1	1 7.69
Queen/Royal rim			
Moulded /Relief only			
Handles		1	0
Footrings [Hollow and flat wares]		10	0
Undiagnostic with partial maker's mark			
Undiagnostic		37	0
Indefinite			
<b>DECORATED WHITE-BODIED REFINED WARES - ALL TYPES</b>			
CONTINENTAL EUROPE			
Printed - tissue - single colour			
Printed - polychrome		3	1 7.69
Painted & lustre			
BRITISH			
Appliqué			
Annular - See Slipped			
Lines: band & line [single/multiple, thin/wide]			
Gilded: gold/silver lines -single or multiple; sometimes with central motif			
- handles			
- footrings			
- undiagnostic		1	0 0

DECORATED WHITE-BODIED REFINED WARES - ALL TYPES			
BRITISH [Contd.]			
Painted & Sponge			
Printed overglaze - decal			
Printed - Willow pattern			
Printed [tissue] underglaze - single colour	4	4	30.76
- footrings	1	1	7.69
Printed [tissue] - polycolour			
Printed and paint			
Slipped [Annular]	1	1	7.69
Sponge	7	2	15.38
Tinted body			
Undefined			
Undiagnostic	13	0	
COLOURED-BODIED REFINED WARES			
Yellow ware	0		
Teapot ware	0		
REFINED STONEWARE			
19th century plain or moulded	1	1	7.69
ORNAMENTAL			
Doll - parian	1	0	0
Dolls' tea set			
Indefinite - Parian - swirl	1	0	0
Undiagnostic			
DIAGNOSTIC BUT NOT YET IDENTIFIED [Add descriptions]			
<b>TOTAL</b>	89	13	99.97
Based on Jane Klose 2007			

SITE: <b>WARMHOEK</b> , CLANWILLIAM [WHK] - <b>MAIN HOUSE</b>		<b>APPENDIX 5.5</b>	
<b>WARE &amp; DECORATION TABLE: LATE 19th - EARLY 20th CENTURY</b>			
<b>Based on rims with the addition of footrings, handles &amp; undiagnostic sherds which obviously differ from wares/decoration represented by rims.</b>		<b>MAIN HOUSE</b>	
	<b>No. of Sherds</b>	<b>MNV</b>	<b>MNV %</b>
<b>PORCELAIN</b>			
ASIAN - CHINESE	0		
ASIAN - JAPANESE			
ASIAN - ISLAMIC / PROVINCIAL / UNPROVENANCED	0		
EUROPEAN - ALL COUNTRIES	0		
EUROPEAN - BRITISH	0		
<b>STONEWARE</b>		0	
<b>EARTHENWARE</b>			
AFRICAN EARTHENWARE			
Khoi	0		
Other	0		
<b>REFINED INDUSTRIAL WARES</b>			
WHITE BODIED - ALL TYPES - UNDECORATED [No distinction made between creamware (c.c.), pearlware and white ware]			
Plain rims	1	1	11.1
Hotel Ware'	1	1	11.1
Fluted or Ribbed			
Cream coloured			
Queen/Royal rim			
Moulded /Relief			
Handles			
Footrings [Hollow and flat wares]	1	0	0
Undiagnostic	16	0	0
<b>DECORATED WHITE-BODIED REFINED WARES - ALL TYPES</b>			
CONTINENTAL EUROPE			
Printed - tissue - single colour			
Printed - polychrome	2	1	11.1
Painted & lustre			
Undiagnostic with partial maker's mark	1	0	0
BRITISH			
Appliqué			
Annular - See Slipped			
Lines: band & line[single/multiple, thin/wide]	6	4	44.44
Gilded: gold/silver lines -single or multiple; central motif			
- handles			
- footrings			
- undiagnostic			

<i>DECORATED WHITE-BODIED REFINED WARES - ALL TYPES</i>			
BRITISH Contd.]			
Painted & sponge			
Printed overglaze - decal			
Printed - Willow pattern			
Printed [tissue] underglaze - single colour	4	2	22.22
- footrings	1	0	0
Printed [tissue] - polycolour			
Printed and paint	1	0	0
Slipped [Annular]			
Sponged spattered			
Undefined			
Undiagnostic	6	0	0
<i>COLOURED-BODIED REFINED WARES</i>			
Yellow ware	0	0	0
Teapot ware	0	0	0
<i>REFINED STONEWARE</i>			
19th century plain or moulded	1	0	0
<i>ORNAMENTAL</i>			
Doll - parian			
Dolls' tea set			
Indefinite			
Undiagnostic			
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>99.96</b>
Based on Jane Klose 2007			

SITE: <b>WARMHOEK</b> , CLANWILLIAM [WHK] - STR.1 <b>PIG STY</b>		<b>APPENDIX 5.6</b>	
<b>WARE &amp; DECORATION TABLE: LATE 19th - EARLY 20th CENTURY</b>			
<b>Based on rims with the addition of footrings, handles &amp; undiagnostic sherds which obviously differ from wares/decoration represented by rims.</b>		<b>PIG STY</b>	
	<b>No. of Sherds</b>	<b>MNV</b>	<b>MNV %</b>
<b>PORCELAIN</b>	0		
ASIAN - CHINESE			
ASIAN - JAPANESE			
ASIAN - ISLAMIC / PROVINCIAL / UNPROVENANCED			
EUROPEAN - ALL COUNTRIES			
EUROPEAN - BRITISH			
<b>STONEWARE</b>	0		
<b>EARTHENWARE</b>	0		
AFRICAN EARTHENWARE			
Khoi			
Other			
<b>REFINED INDUSTRIAL WARES</b>			
WHITE BODIED - ALL TYPES - UNDECORATED [No distinction made between creamware (c.c.), pearlware and white ware]			
Plain			
Hotel Ware'			
Fluted or Ribbed			
Cream coloured			
Queen/Royal rim			
Moulded /Relief only			
Handles			
Footrings [Hollow and flat wares]			
Undiagnostic with partial maker's mark			
Undiagnostic	4	0	
Indefinite			
<b>DECORATED WHITE-BODIED REFINED WARES - ALL TYPES</b>			
CONTINENTAL EUROPE			
Printed - tissue - single colour	0		
Printed - polychrome			
Painted & lustre			
<b>DECORATED WHITE-BODIED REFINED WARES - ALL TYPES</b>			
BRITISH			
Appliqué			
Annular - See Slipped			
Lines: band & line [single/multiple, thin/wide]	1	0	
Gilded: gold/silver lines -single or multiple; central motif			
- handles			
- footrings			
- undiagnostic			

<i>DECORATED WHITE-BODIED REFINED WARES - ALL TYPES</i>			
BRITISH [Contd.]			
Painted & sponge			
Printed overglaze - decal			
Printed [tissue] underglaze - Willow pattern			
Printed [tissue] underglaze - single colour	3	2	100
- footrings			
Printed [tissue] - polycolour			
Printed and paint			
Slipped [Annular]			
Sponge			
Undefined			
Undiagnostic	2	0	
Other - footring			
<i>COLOURED-BODIED REFINED WARES</i>	0		
Yellow ware			
Teapot ware			
<i>REFINED STONEWARE</i>			
19th century plain or moulded	0		
<i>ORNAMENTAL</i>	0		
Doll - parian			
Dolls' tea set			
Indefinite			
Undiagnostic			
<b>TOTAL</b>	10	2	100
Based on Jane Klose 2007			

SITE: <b>WARMHOEK</b> , CLANWILLIAM [WHK] - STR. 3 PATH [Lab.Cott.]		APPENDIX 5.7	
<b>WARE &amp; DECORATION TABLE: LATE 19th - EARLY 20th CENTURY</b>			
<b>Based on rims with the addition of footrings, handles &amp; undiagnostic sherds which obviously differ from wares/decoration represented by rims.</b>			
	<b>No. of Sherds</b>	<b>MNV</b>	<b>MNV %</b>
<b>PORCELAIN</b>			
ASIAN - CHINESE		0	
ASIAN - JAPANESE		0	
ASIAN - ISLAMIC / PROVINCIAL / UNPROVENANCED		0	
EUROPEAN - ALL COUNTRIES		0	
EUROPEAN - BRITISH		0	
<b>STONEWARE</b>		0	
<b>EARTHENWARE</b>			
AFRICAN EARTHENWARE			
Khoi		9	0
Other			0
<b>REFINED INDUSTRIAL WARES</b>			
WHITE BODIED - ALL TYPES - UNDECORATED [No distinction made between creamware (c.c.), pearlware and white ware]			
Plain rims		1	1
Hotel Ware'			6.6
Fluted or Ribbed			
Cream coloured			
Queen/Royal rim			
Moulded /Relief			
Handles			
Footrings [Hollow and flat wares]		3	1
Undiagnostic with partial maker's mark			6.6
Undiagnostic		15	0
Indefinite		1	0
<b>DECORATED WHITE-BODIED REFINED WARES - ALL TYPES</b>			
CONTINENTAL EUROPE		0	0
Printed - tissue - single colour			0
Printed - polychrome			
Printed & lustre			
BRITISH			
Appliqué		1	1
Annular - See Slipped			6.6
Line: band & line [single/multiple, thin/wide]		2	2
Gilded: gold/silver lines -single or multiple; sometimes with central motif		0	13.3
- handles			
- footrings			
- undiagnostic			



<i>DECORATED WHITE-BODIED REFINED WARES - ALL TYPES</i>			
BRITISH [Contd.]			
Painted	1	1	6.6
Printed overglaze - decal			
Printed - Willow pattern			
Printed [tissue] underglaze - single colour	4	4	26.6
Printed [tissue] - polycolour			
Slipped [Annular]	1	1	6.6
Sponged spattered	16	4	26.6
Undefined			
Undiagnostic			
<i>COLOURED-BODIED REFINED WARES</i>	0		
Yellow ware			
Teapot ware			
<i>REFINED STONEWARE</i>	0		
19th century plain or moulded			
<i>ORNAMENTAL</i>	0		
Doll - parian			
Dolls' tea set			
Indefinite			
Undiagnostic			
<b>TOTAL</b>	54	15	99.5
Based on Jane Klose 2007			

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SITE: WARMHOEK, CLANWILLIAM [WHK]			LOCATION: GULLY MIDDEN							APPENDIX 5.9			
LATE 19th - EARLY 20th CENTURY SITE													
Rims or footrings or distinctive decorative features	REFINED INDUSTRIAL WARE												
FORM & FUNCTION TABLE	WHITE - BODIED							COL BDY	STNW R	OTHR			
	UNDEC.		DECORATED										
	PLN	MLD / FLT/RB	LIN / BND	SPNG	SLIP	PRT / PNT	GILT / LSTR				TOTAL FORMS	% FORMS	CAT. %
COOKING & FOOD PREPARATION													
FOOD/DRINK STORAGE													
Bottle/flask/jug									1		1	1.13	1.13
FOOD DISTRIBUTION/CONSUMPTION													
Plate - Large [230-260mm diam]													
Plate - Soup [deep cavetto][220-260mm]						1	1				2	2.27	
Plate - Medium/Large [220-260mm diam]	1	1				9					11	12.5	
Plate - Small/Medium: max.210mm		1				4					5	5.68	
Bowls - S/M/L: all forms		1	1	5	2	2	1				12	13.63	
Dish - S/M/L - all forms	1										1	1.13	
Lid [of serving dish]													35.21
DRINKING													
Cup	3	5				3	13				24	27.27	
Mug [upright sides]		2		1		2					5	5.68	
Saucer	1	2		1		5	15				24	27.27	
Tea/coffee pot								1			1	1.13	61.35
HEALTH & HYGIENE													
Pharmaceutical pot/jar/bottle													
Basin/bowl			1								1	1.13	1.13

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Appendix 5.16: Comparison of Wares and Decorations on ceramic vessels found at Salem and Warmhoek, W. Cape.

<b>WARES</b>	<b>SALEM, E. CAPE 1820 - 1860</b>	<b>WARMHOEK, W. CAPE ca.1873 – 1933 (Occupation of farm house 1896-1926)</b>
Asian	Not mentioned	Japanese tea ware (Cat.66)
Stoneware (RIW)	Not mentioned	Present in small quantities
R I W		
Moulded/fluted/ribbed	Not mentioned	Present
Lines	Not mentioned	Present
Bands	Not mentioned	Present
Sponge	Sponge bowls – in high proportion	Sponge: 16 % of Assemblage (28 vessels)
Slipware	Slipware (Annular) bowls – in high proportion	Slipware 2.2% of Assemblage (4 vessels)
Hand painted polychrome	Hand painted polychrome – numerous	Hand painted polychrome – some present
Colour variety	Colour – great variety	Colour – great variety
Blue dominant i.e. blue & white	Dominant colour – blue	Dominant colour – no dominant colour although blue prevalent
<b>TABLE WARE</b>		
Matched dinner sets	Few	One true ( Cat.6)
Dinner ‘sets’ based on similarity	Blue & White unmatched china – dominant; on the table, give the illusion of being matched – dinner plates, serving dishes, small plates.	1 matched (Cat.6) 2 similar (Cat. 3 & Cat. 5) Blue & white.



WARES	SALEM	WARMHOEK
TEAWARE		
Willow pattern	Willow pattern – dominant on large serving platters but few are identical or from same manufacturer. Willow dinner plates in a variety of sizes, transfer dye densities, shades of blue and minutely different Willow design	Willow pattern – one sherd
Tea ware % of assemblage – all wares	36%	52% MNV
Cups excavated	48 – most are transfer printed	40 of which most are Gilded or Lustre; and 12 mugs
Saucers excavated	35– most are transfer printed	32 of which most are Gilded or Lustre
Transfer print	60–68 % of cups & saucers are transfer printed with exotic Asian & European scenes	12.6% of the Tea ware (i.e. 22 printed cups & saucers, floral; none show exotic scenes)
Matched	Matched tea cups & saucers – common	Few identically matched (3 saucers, 2 drinking bowls Cat. 1 “Toko”) Two matched tea cups & saucers, with pink bands. A similar cup and saucer, brown print.
Flow blue	28% (20% of the saucers and 10% of the cups)	nil
Undecorated, moulded/ fluted /ribbed and sponge decorated	Not mentioned	11% of the Tea ware (19 vessels)
Coloured–bodied	Tea pot lid: dark brown Rockingham. Winer suggests that silver or pewter tea pots may	1% of the Tea ware (2 vessels)

	have been used for formal occasions	
TEAWARE (contd.)	SALEM	WARMHOEK
Gilded / Lustre	3% of the Teaware	22% of the Teaware (40 gilded vessels)
Sugar bowls & Milk jugs	Not mentioned	Not identified
Design names	Design names (transfer prints}: Willow, Asian Pheasants, Medici, Florentine, Ganges, Madras, Forest, Flowerette and Fibre – many evocative of parts of the world foreign to British people.	Design names: British: on dinner ware: Hyde Park, Brazil. Asiatic Pheasants design present but name not marked on any sherd. Design name on Dutch tea ware, “Toko” – Asian reference in name; design floral.
Maker’s marks	Makers not mentioned by name by Winer. She indicates that similar patterns were produced by different pottery manufacturers (Winer 1994: 279–280) so presumably maker’s marks are present. Variations in pattern detail in wares of similar design & colour imply different manufacturers.	British and Continental European maker’s marks present.
Continental European Tea ware	Not mentioned	Present – as indicated by maker’s marks. Only one manufacturer’s name evident; other manufacturers’ names are only partially present.